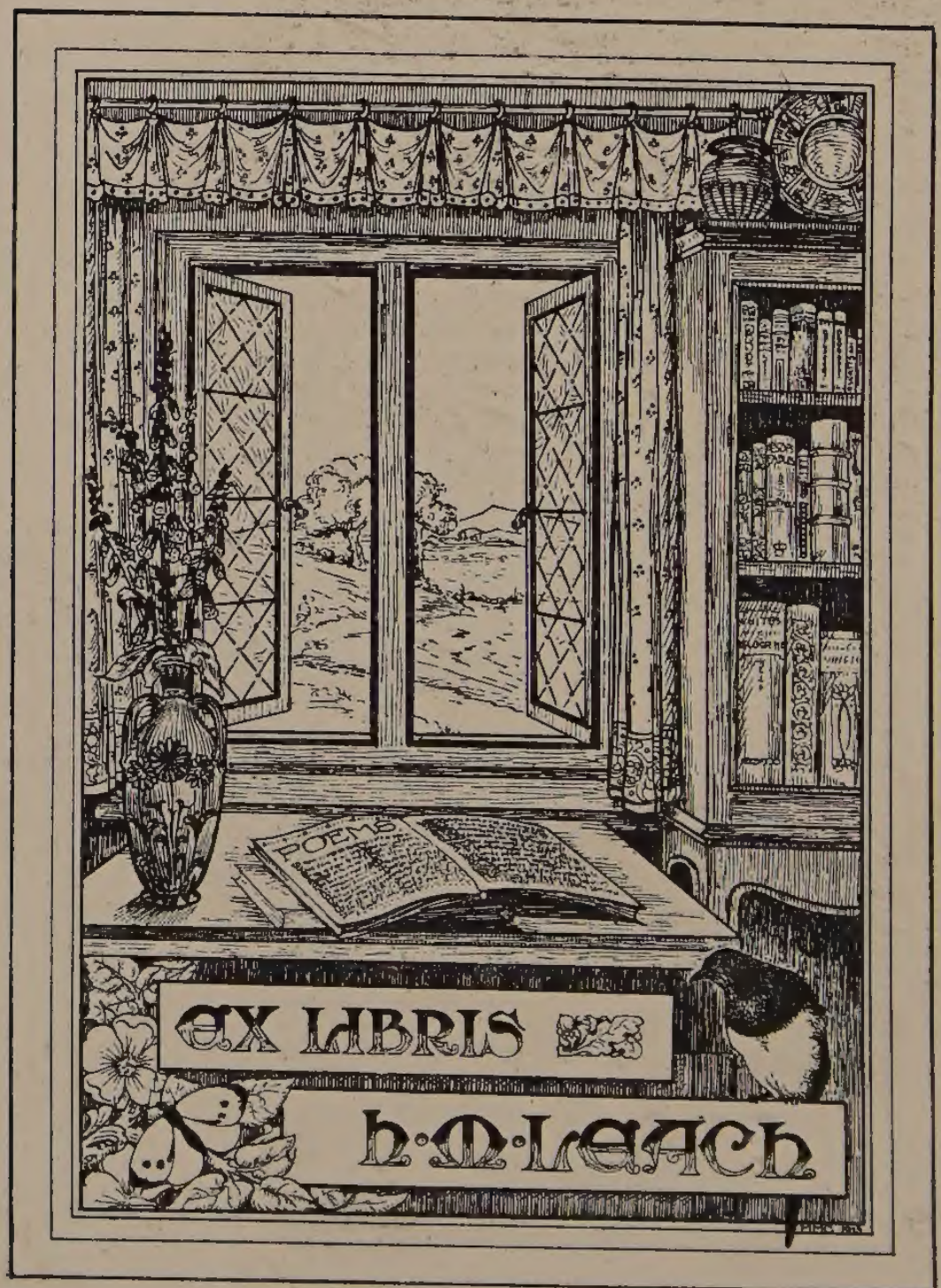
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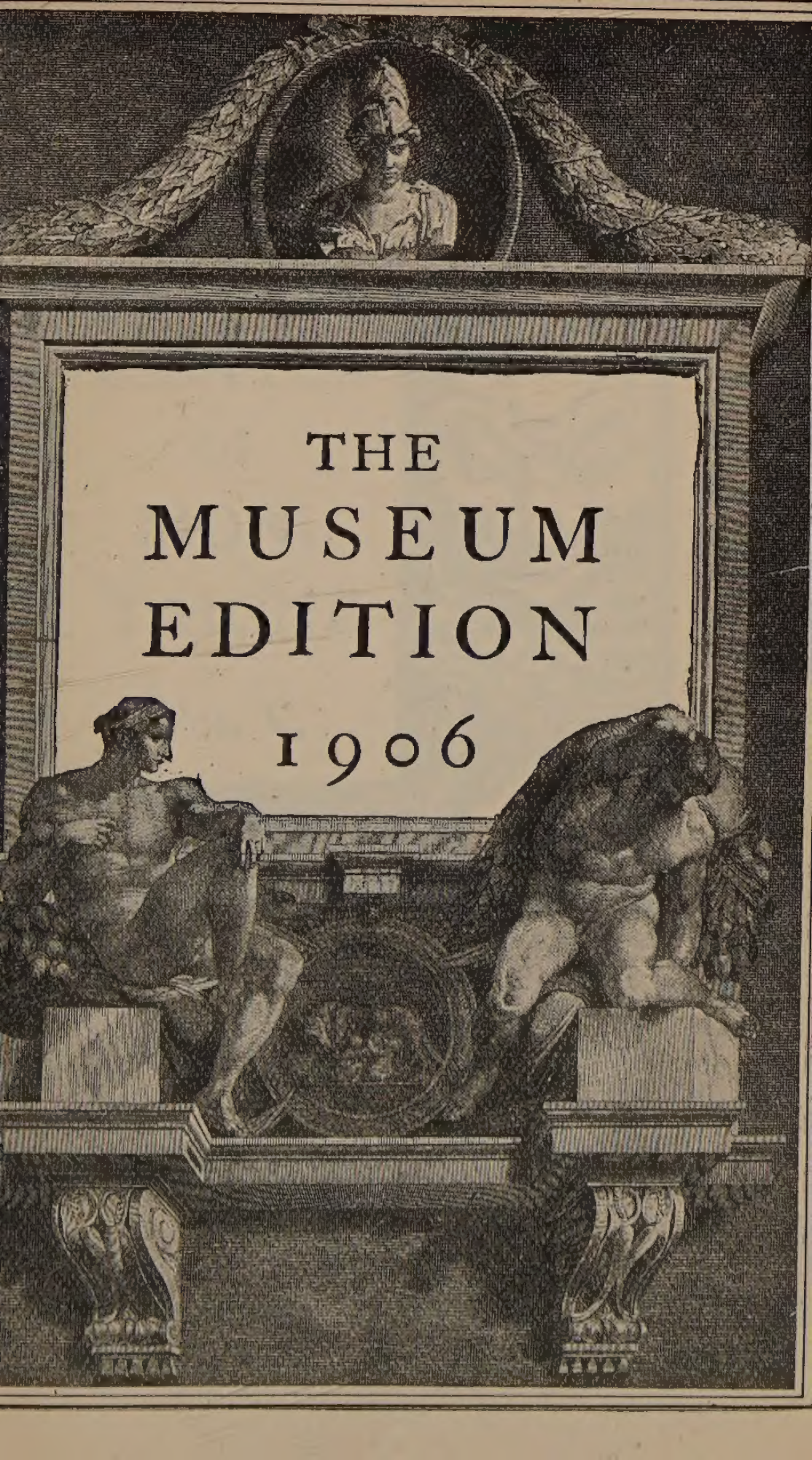
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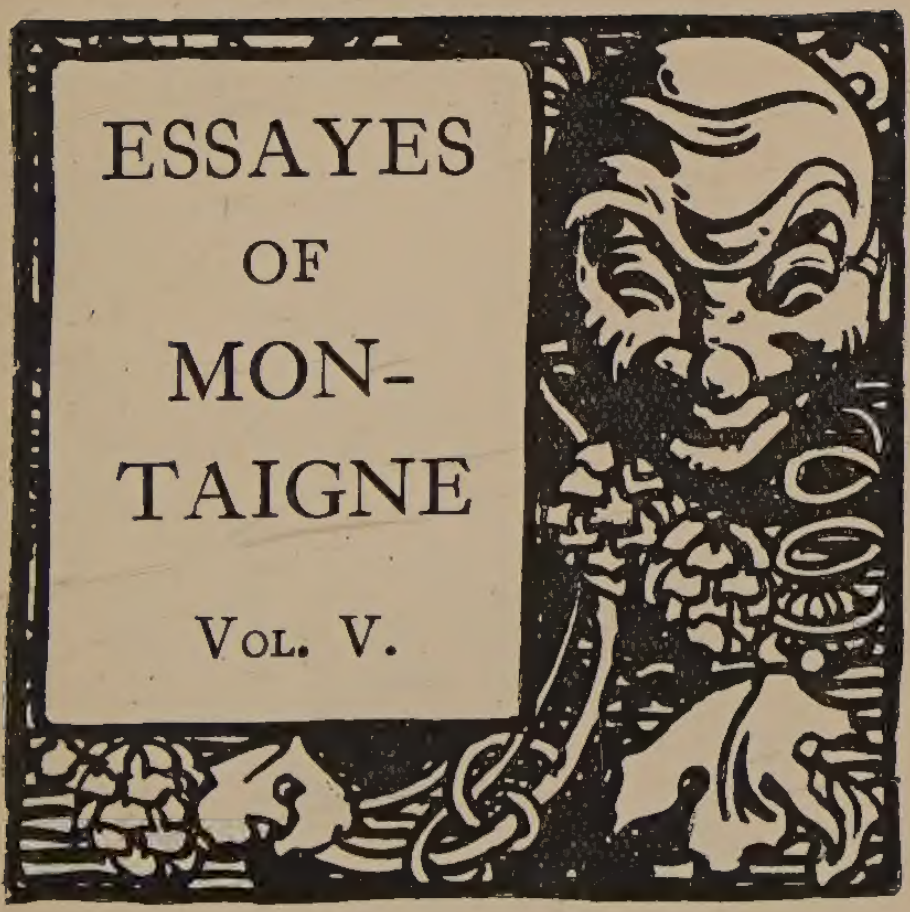
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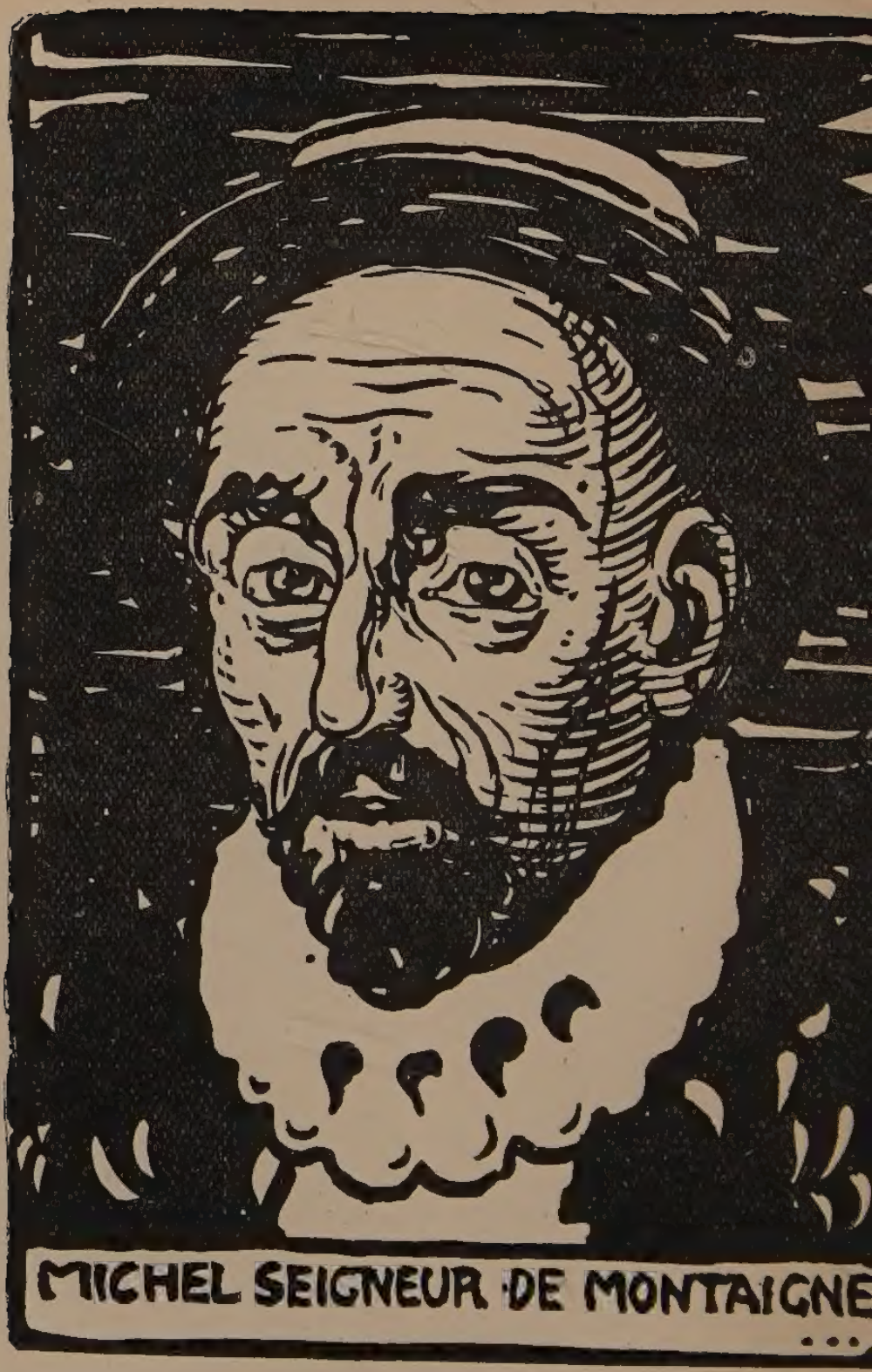
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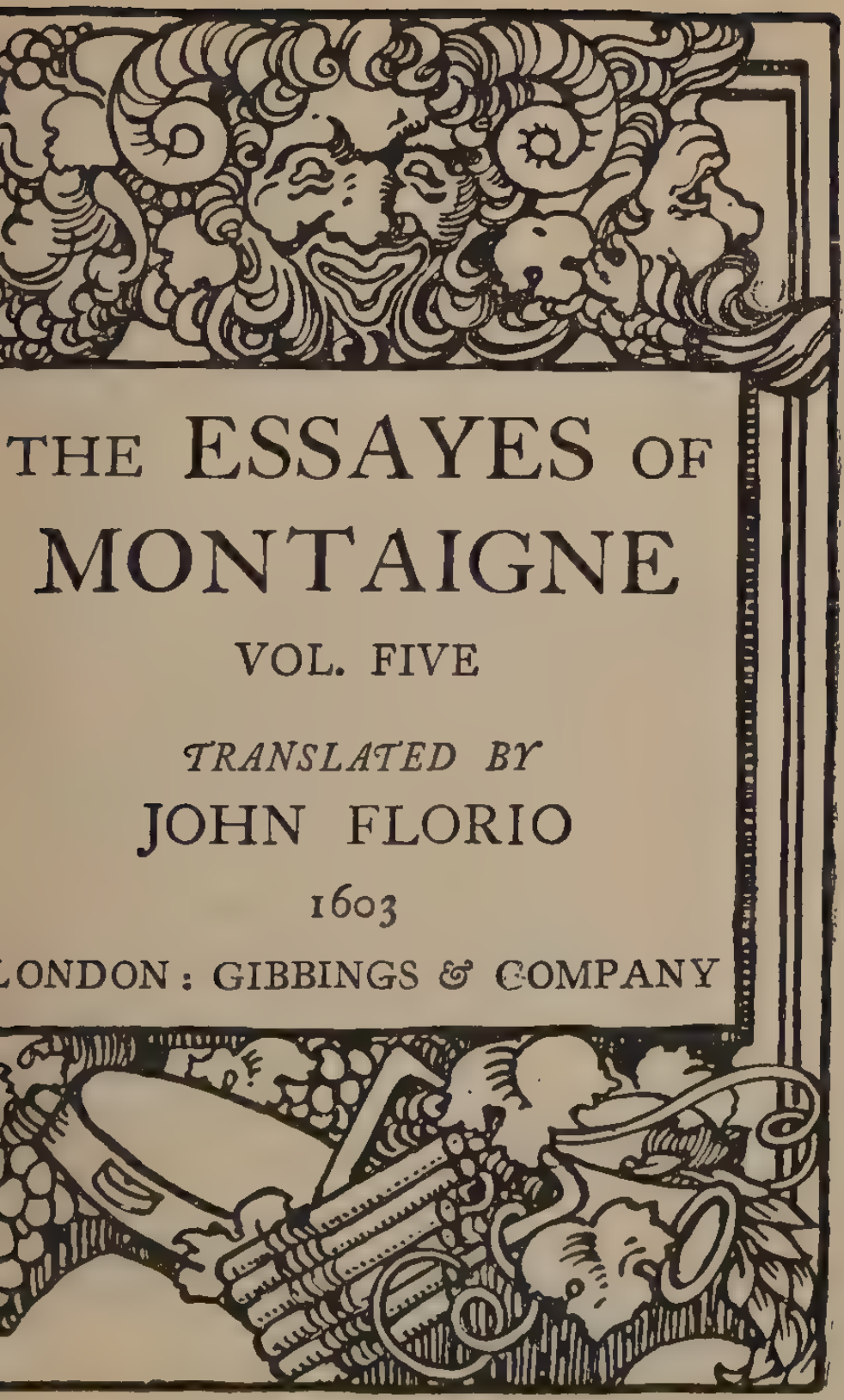

THE ESSAYES OF MONTAIGNE

VOL. FIVE

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN FLORIO

1603

LONDON: GIBBINGS & COMPANY

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THE ESSAYES OF MICHAEL LORD OF MONTAIGNE.

The Third Booke.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Of Profit and Honesty.

NO man living is free from speaking foolish things; the ill lucke is, to speake them curiously:

Næ iste magno conatu magnas nugas dixerit.
This fellow sure with much adoe,
Will tell great tales and trifles too.

TER. *Heaut.* act iv. sc. 1.

That concerneth not me; mine slip from me with as little care, as they are of smal worth: whereby they speed the better. I would suddenly quit them, for the least cost were in them: Nor doe I buy, or sell them,

but for what they weigh. I speake unto Paper, as to the first man I meete. That this is true, marke well what followes. To whom should not treachery be detestable, when Tiberius refused it on such great interest? One sent him word out of Germany, that if he thought it good, Ariminius should be made away by poison. He was the mightiest enemy the Romans had, who had so vilely used them under Varus, and who onely empeached the encrease of his domination in that country. His answer was; that the people of Rome were accustomed to be revenged on their enemies by open courses, With weapons in hand; not by subtill sleights, nor in hugger mugger: thus left he the profitable for the honest. He was (you will say) a cosener. I beleeve it; that's no wonder, in men of his profession. But the confession of vertue, is of no lesse consequence in his mouth that hateth the same, for so much as truth by force doth wrest it from him, and if he will not admit it in him, at least, to adorne himselfe, he will put it on. Our composition,

both publike and private, is full of imperfection; yet is there nothing in nature unserviceable, no not inutility it selfe; nothing thereof hath beene insinuated in this huge universe, but holdeth some fit place therein. Our essence is symented with crased qualities; ambition, jealosie, envy, revenge, superstition, dispaire, lodge in us, with so naturall a possession, as their image is also discerned in beasts: yea and cruelty, so unnaturall a vice: for in the middest of compassion, we inwardly feele a kinde of bitter-sweet-pricking of malicious delight, to see others suffer; and children feele it also:

Suaue mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.

LUCR. l. ii. 1.

T'is sweet on graund seas, when windes waves turmoyle,
From land to see an others greevous toyle.

The seed of which qualities, who should roote out of man, should ruine the fundamentall conditions of our life: In matter of policy likewise; some necessary functions are not onely base, but faulty; vices finde therein a seate, and employ themselves in

the stitching up of our frame ; as poisons in the preservation of our health. If they become excusable, because we have neede of them, and that common necessity effaceth their true property ; let us resigne the acting of this part to hardy Citizens, who sticke not to sacrifice their honours and consciences, as those of old, their lives, for their Countries availe and safety. We that are more weake, had best assume taskes of more ease and lesse hazard. The Common-wealth requireth some to betray, some to lie, and some to massaker : leave we that commission to people more obedient and more pliable. Truly, I have often beene vexed, to see our judges, by fraude or false hopes of favour or pardon, draw on a malefactor, to bewray his offence ; employing therein both couzinage and impudencie. It were fit for justice, and Plato himselfe, who favoureth this custome, to furnish me with meanes more sutable to my humour. T'is a malicious justice, and in my conceit no lesse wounded by it selfe, then by others. I answered not long since, that hardly could I betray my

Prince for a particular man, who should be very sory to betray a particular man for my Prince. And loath not onely to deceave, but that any be deceived in me; whereto I will neither furnish matter nor occasion. In that little businesse I have managed betweene our Princes, amid the divisions and subdivisions, which at this day so teare and turmoile us, I have curiously heeded, that they mistake me not, nor muffled themselves in my maske. The professors of that trade hold themselves most covert; pretending and counterfeiting the greatest indifference and neerenesse to the cause they can. As for me, I offer my selfe in my liveliest reasons, in a forme most mine owne: A tender and yoong Negotiator, and who had rather faile in my businesse, then in my selfe. Yet hath this beene hitherto with so good hap (for surely fortune is in these matters a principal actor) that few have dealt betweene party and party with lesse suspition, and more inward favour. I have in all my proceedings an open fashion, easie to insinuate and give it selfe credite at first acquaintance.

Sincerity, plainenesse, and naked truth, in what age so ever, finde also their opportunity and employment. Besides, their liberty is little called in question, or subject to hate, who deale without respect of their owne interest. And they may truely use the answer of Hyperides unto the Athenians, complaining of his bitter invectives and sharpnesse of his speech: "Consider not, my masters whether I am free, but whether I be so, without taking ought, or bettering my state by it." My liberty also hath easily discharged me from all suspition of faintnesse, by it's vigor (nor forbearing to speake any thing, though it bite or stung them; I could not have said worse in their absence) and because it carrieth an apparent show of simplicity and carelesnesse. I pretend no other fruite by negotiating, then to negotiate; and annex no long pursuites or propositions to it. Every action makes his particular game, win he if he can. Nor am I urged with the passion of love or hate unto great men; nor is my will shackled with anger, or particular respect. I regard our Kings

with an affection simply lawfull, and meerely civil, neither mooved nor unmooved by private interest: for which I like my selfe the better. The general and just cause bindes me no more then moderately, and without violent fits. I am not subject to these piercing pledges and inward gages. Choller and hate are beyond the duty of justice, and are passions fitting only those, whose reason is not sufficient to hold them to their duty: *Utatur motu animi, qui uti ratione non potest:* "Let him use the motion of his minde, that cannot use reason." All lawfull intentions are of themselves temperate: if not, they are altered into sedicious and unlawfull. It is that makes me march every where with my head aloft, my face and heart open. Verily (and I feare not to avouch it) I could easily for a neede, bring a candle to Saint Michell, and another to his Dragon, as the good old woman. I will follow the best side to the fire, but not into it, if I can choose. If neede require, let Montaigne my Mannor-house be swallowed up in the publike ruine: but if there be no

such necessity, I will acknowledge my selfe beholding unto fortune if she please to save it; and for it's safety employ as much scope as my endevours can affoord me. Was it not Atticus, who cleaving to the right (but loosing side) saved himselfe by his moderation, in that generall Shipwracke of the world, amidst so many changes and divers alterations? To private men, such as he was, it is more easie. And in such kinde of businesses, I thinke one dealeth justly, not to be too forward to insinuate or invite himselfe: To hold a staggering or midle course, to beare an unmooved affection, and without inclination in the troubles of his country, and publike divisions, I deeme neither seemely nor honest: *Ea non media, sed nulla via est, velut eventum expectantium, quo fortunæ consilia sua applicent:* "That is not the mid-way, but a mad way, or no way, as of those that expect the event with intent to apply their dessignes as fortune shall fall out." That may be permitted in the affaires of neighbours. So did Gelon the tyrant of Siracusa suspend his inclina-

tion in the Barbarian wars against the Greekes, keeping Ambassadours at Delphos, with presents, to watch on what side the victory would light, and to apprehend the fittest occasion of reconcilement with the victors. It were a kinde of treason to doe so in our owne affaires and domesticall matters, wherein of necessitie one must resolve and take a-side; but for a man that hath neither charge, nor expresse commaundement to urge him; not to busie or entermedle himselfe therein, I holde it more excusable; (Yet frame I not this excuse for my selfe) then in forraine and strangers wars, wherewith according to our lawes, no man is troubled against his will. Neverthelesse those, who wholly ingage themselves into them, may carry such an order and temper, as the storme (without offending them) may glide over their head. Had wee not reason to hope as much of the deceased Bishop of Orleans, Lord of Morvilliers? And I know some, who at this present worthilie bestirre themselves, in so even a fashion or pleasing a manner,

that they are likely to continue on foote, whatsoever injurious alteration or fall, the heavens may prepare against us. I holde it onely fit for Kings to bee angry with Kings: And mocke at those rash spirits, who from the braverie of their harts offer themselves to so unproportionate quarrels. For one undertaketh not a particular quarrell against a Prince, in marching against him openly and couragiously, for his honour, and according to his dutie: If hee love not such a man; hee doth better; at least hee esteemeth him. And the cause of lawes especially, and defence of the auncient state, hath ever found this priviledge, that such as for their owne interest, disturbe the same, excuse (if they honour not) their defendors. But wee ought not terme duty (as now a dayes we do) a sower rigour, and intestine crabbedness, proceeding of private interest and passion; nor courage a treacherous and malicious proceeding. Their disposition to frowardnesse and mischiefe, they entitle zeale: That's not the cause doth heate them, t'is their owne interest:

They kindle a warre, not because it is just, but because it is warre. Why may not a man beare himselfe betweene enemies featly and faithfully? Doe it, if not altogether with an equall (for it may admit different measure) at least with a sober affection, which may not so much engage you to the one, that hee looke for all at your hands. Content your selfe with a moderate proportion of their favour, and to glide in troubled waters, without fishing in them. Th'other manner of offering ones uttermost endevours to both sides, implyeth lesse discretion then conscience. What knowes hee, to whom you betray another, as much your friend as himselfe, but you will doe the like for him, when his turne shall come. Hee takes you for a villaine; that whilst hee heares you, and gathers out of you, and makes his best use of your disloyaltie: For, double fellowes are onely beneficiall in what they bring, but we must looke, they carry away as little as may be. I carry nothing to the one, which I may not (having opportunity) say unto the other, the accent

only changed a little: and report either but indifferent or knowne, or common things. Noe benefit can induce mee to lye unto them; what is entrusted to my silence I conceale religiously, but take as little in trust as I can. Princes secrets are a troublesome charge, to such as have nought to doe with them. I ever by my good will capitulate with them, that they trust mee with very little; but let them assuredly trust what I disclose unto them. I alwayes knew more then I wold. An open speach opens the way to another, and drawes all out, even as Wine, and Love. Philippides in my minde, answered King Lysimachus wisely, when hee demaunded of him, what of his wealth or state hee shoulde empart unto him; "Which and what you please (quoth hee) so it be not your secrets." I see every one mutinie, if another conceale the deapth or misterie of the affaires from him, wherein he pleaseth to employ him, or have but purloyned any circumstance from him. For my part, I am content one tell me no more of his businesse then hee will have

mee knowe or deale in, nor desire I, that my knowledge exceede or straine my word. If I must needes bee the instrument of cozinage, it shall at least bee with safety of my conscience. I will not be esteemed a servant, nor so affectionate, nor yet so faithfull, that I bee judged fit to betray any man. Who is unfaithfull to himselfe, may bee excused if hee be faithlesse to his Maister. But Princes entertaine not men by halfes, and despise bounded and condicionall service. What remedy? I freely tell them my limits; for, a slave I must not bee but unto reason, which yet I cannot compasse: And they are to blame, to exact from a free man, the like subjection unto their service, and the same obligation, which they may from those they have made and bought; and whose fortune dependeth particularly and expresly on theirs. The lawes have delivered mee from much trouble: they have chosen mee aside to followe, and appointed mee a maister to obey: all other superioritie and duty, ought to bee relative unto that and bee restrained. Yet may it

not bee concluded, that if my affection should otherwise transport mee, I would presently afforde my helping hand unto it. Will and desires are a law to themselves, actions are to receive it of publike institutions: All these proceedings of mine, are somewhat dissonant from our formes. They should produce noe great effects, nor holde out long among us. Innocencie it selfe could not in these times nor negotiate without dissimulation, nor trafficke without lying. Neither are publike functions of my dyet; what my profession requires thereto, I furnish in the most private manner I can. Being a childe, I was plunged into them up to the eares, and had good successe; but I got loose in good time. I have often since shunned medling with them, seldome accepted and never required; ever holding my backe toward ambition; but not as rowers, who goe forward as it were backeward; Yet so, as I am lesse beholding to my resolution, then to my good fortune, that I was not wholly embarked in them. For, there are courses lesse against

my taste, and more comfortable to my carriage, by which if heeretofore it had called mee to the service of the common-wealth, and my advancement unto credit in the world ; I know that in following the same I had exceeded the reason of my conceite. Those which commonly say against my profession, that what I terme liberty, simplicity and plainenesse in my behaviour, is arte, cunning and subtilty : and rather discretion, then goodnesse ; industry then nature ; good wit, then good hap ; doe mee more honour then shame. But truely they make my cunning over-cunning. And whosoever hath traced mee and nearely looked into my humoures, Ile loose a good wager if hee confesse not, that there is noe rule in their schoole, could, a midde such crooked pathes and diverse windings, square and raport this naturall motion, and maintaine an apparance of liberty and licence, so equall and inflexible ; and that all their attention and wit, is not of power to bring them to it. The way to trueth is but one and simple ; that of

particular profit and benefit of affaires a man hath in charge, double, uneven and accidentall. I have often seene these counterfet and artificiall liberties in practise, but most commonly without successe. They savour of Æsopes Asse; who in emulation of the dogge, layde his two fore-feete very jocondly upon his maister's shoulders; but looke how many blandishments the pretty dogge received, under one, so many bastinadoes were redoubled upon the poore Asses backe. *Id maxime quemque decet; quod est cujusque suum maxime:* "That becomes every man especially, which is his owne especially." I will not deprive cousinage of her ranke that were to understand the worlde but ill: I know it hath often done profitable service, it supporteth, yea and nourisheth the greatest part of mens vacations.

Cic. *Off.* l. i.

There are some lawfull vices; as many actions, or good or excusable, unlawfull. Justice in it selfe naturall and universall is otherwise ordered, and more nobly distributed, then this other especiall, and

nationall justice, restrained and suted to the neede of our pollicie: *Veri juris germanœque justitiæ solidam et expressam effigiem nullam tenemus; umbra et imaginibus utimur:* "Wee have noe lively nor life-like purtrature of upright law and naturall justice: wee use but the shaddowes and colours of them." So that wise Dandamys, hearing the lives of Socrates, Pythagoras and Diogenes repeated, in other thinges, judged them great and woorthy men, but overmuch subjected to the reverence of the lawes: which to authorize and second, true vertue is to decline very much from his naturall vigor: and not onely by their permission, but perswasions, diverse vicious actions are committed and take place. *Ex Sunatusconsultis plebisque scitis scelera exercentur:* "Even by decrees of counsell, and by statute-lawes are mischiefes put in practise." I follow the common phrase, which makes a difference betweene profitable and honest things; terming some naturall actions which are not onely profitable but necessarie, dishonest and filthie.

Cic. *Off.* l. iii.

But to continue our examples of treason. Two which aspired unto the kingdome of Thrace, were falne into controversie for their right. The Emperor hindred them from falling together by the eares: the one under collour of contriving some friendlie accorde by an enterview, inviting the other to a feast in his house, emprisoned and murthred him. Justice required, that the Romanes should be satisfied for this outrage: some difficulties empeached the ordinarie course. What they could not lawfully doe without warre and hazard, they attempted to accomplish by treason: what they coulde not honestlie atchieve, they profitably compassed. For exployting whereof, Pomponius Flaccus was thought most fitte: who trayning the fellowe into his Nettes by fained wordes and sugred assurances; in liew of the favour and honour hee promised him, sent him bound hand and foote to Rome. One traytour over-reached another, against common custome: For, they are all full of distrust, and t'is very hard to surprize them in their owne arte: witnesse the heavie

and dismall experience wee have lately felt of it. Let who liste bee Pomponius Flaccus; and there are too-too many that will bee so. As for my parte, both my word and faith, are as the rest; pieces of this common bodie: their best effect is the publike service: that's ever presupposed with mee. But as, if one should command mee to take the charge of the Rolles or Recordes of the Pallace, I would answere: I have noe skill in them: or to bee a leader of Pioners, I would say; I am called to a worthier office: Even so, who would goe about to employ mee, not to murther or poyson, but to lye, betraye, and forsweare my selfe, I would tell him; If I have robbed or stolne any thing from any man, send mee rather to the Gallies. For, a Gentleman may lawfully speake as did the Lacedemonians, defeated by Antipater, upon the points of their agreement: "You may impose as heavie burdens, and harmefull taxes upon us as you please; but you loose your time, to commaund us any shamefull or dishonest things." Every man should give himselfe

the oathe, which the Ægyptian Kings, solemnlie and usuallie presented to their judges; Not to swarve from their consciences, what commaund soever they should receive from themselves to the contrarie. In such commissions there is an evident note of ignominie and condemnation. And whosoever gives them you, accuseth you; and if you conceave them right, gives you them as a trouble and burthen. As much as the publike affaires amend by your endevours, your owne empaireth: the better you doe, so much the worse doe you. And it shall not bee newe, nor peradventure without shadowe of justice, that hee who setteth you a worke, becommeth your ruine. If treason bee in any case excusable, it is onely then, when t'is employed to punish and betraye treason. Wee shall finde many treacheries, to have beene not onely refused, but punished by them, in whose favour they were under-taken. Who knowes not the sentence of Fabritius, against Pyrrus his Physition? And the commaunder hath

often severely revenged them on the partie hee employed in them, refusing so unbridled a credite and power, and disavowing so lewde and so vile an obedience. Iaropelc Duke of Russia, sollicited an Hungarian Gentleman, to betraye Boleslaus King of Polonia, in contriving his death, or furnishing the Russians with meanes to worke him some notable mischiefe. This gallant, presently bestirres him in it, and more then ever applying himselfe to the Kings service obtained to bee of his counsell, and of those hee most trusted. By which advantages, and with the opportunitie of his maisters absence, hee betrayde Vicilicia, a great and rich cittie to the Russians: which was whollie sackt and burnt by them, with a generall slaughter, both of the inhabitants, of what sexe or age soever, and a great number of nobility thereabouts, whom to that purpose he had assembled. Iaropelc his anger thus asswaged with revenge, and his rage mitigated (which was not without pretext, for Boleslaus had mightily wronged and in like manner incensed him) and

glutted with the fruite of treason, examining the uglinesse thereof, naked and alone, and with imparciall eyes behoulding the same, not distempred by passion, conceaved such a remorse, and tooke it so to hart, that he forthwith caused the eyes of his instrumentall executioner to be pulled out, and his tongue and privie partes to be cut off. Antigonus perswaded the Argyraspides soldiers, to betray Eumenes their generall, and his adversarie, unto him, whom when they had delivered, and hee had caused to be slaine; himselfe desired to be the Commissarie of divine justice, for the punishment of so detestable a trecherie: and resigning them into the hands of the Governor of the Province, gave him expresse charge, in what manner soever it were, to rid himselfe of them, and bring them to some mischievous end. Whereby, of that great number they were, not one ever after sawe the smoake of Macedon. The better they served his turne, the more wicked hee judged them, and the more worthie of punishment.

The slave that betraide the corner wherein his maister P. Sulpicius lay hid, was set at libertie, according to the promise of Syllas proscription: But according to the promise of common reason, beeing freed, hee was throwne head-long from off the Tarpeyan rocke. And Clovis King of France, in liew of the golden armes he had promised the three servants of Cannacre, caused them to be hanged, after they had by his sollicitation betraide their maister unto him. They hang them up with the purse of their reward about their neckes. Having satisfied their second and speciall faith, they also satisfie the generall and first. Mahomet the second, desirous to rid himselfe of his brother (through jealousie of rule, and according to the stile of that race) employed one of his officers in it; who stifled him, by much water powred downe his throate all at once: which done, in expiation of the fact, hee delivered the murtherer into the hands of his brothers mother (for they were brethren but by the fathers side) shee, in his presence, opened

his bosome, and with hir owne revenging handes searching for his heart, pluckt it out, and cast it unto dogges to eate. Even unto vile dispositions (having made use of a filthie action) it is so sweete and pleasing, if they may with securitie, as it were, in way of recompence and holie correction, sowe one sure stitche of goodnesse, and justice unto it. Besides, they respect the ministers of such horrible crimes, as people, that still upbraide them with them, and covet by their deaths to smother the knowledge, and cancell the testimonie of their practises. Now if perhaps, not to frustrate the publike neede of that last and desperate remedy, one rewarde you for it: yet, hee who doth it (if hee bee not as bad himselfe) will hould you a most accursed and execrable creature. And deemeth you a greater traytor, then he whom you have betrayed: for with your owne handes, hee toucheth the lewdnesse of your disposition, without disavowing, without object. But employeth you, as we do out-cast persons in the executions

of justice: an office as profitable as little honest. Besides the basenesse of such commissions, there is in them a prostitution of conscience. The daughter of Sejanus, could not in Rome, by any true formall course of lawe, bee put to death, because shee was a virgine: that lawes might have their due course, shee was first deflowred by the common hang-man, and then strangled. Not his hand onely, but his soule is a slave unto publike commoditie. When Amurath the first, to aggravate the punishment of his subjects, who had given support unto his sons unnaturall rebellion, appointed their neerest kinsmen to lend their hands unto this execution: I finde it verie honest in some of them, who rather chose unjustly to bee held guiltie of anothers parricide, then to serve justice with their owne. And whereas in some paltrie townes forced in my time, I have seene base varlets for savegarde of their owne lives, yeelde to hang their friends and companions, I ever thought them of worse condition, then such as were hanged.

It is reported, that Witoldus Prince of Lituania, introduced an order with that nation, which was that the partie condemned to die, should with his owne handes make himselfe away; finding it strange, that a third man beeing guiltlesse of the fact, shoulde bee employed and charged to commit a murther. When an urgent circumstance, or any violent and unexpected accident, induceth a Prince for the necessitie of his estate, or as they say for state matters, to breake his worde and faith, or otherwise forceth him out of his ordinary dutie, hee is to ascribe that necessitie unto a lash of Gods rod: It is no vice, for hee hath quit his reason, unto a reason more publike, and more powerfull, but surely t'is ill fortune. So that to one, who asked mee what remedie? I replyde, none; were hee trulie rackt betweene these two extreames (*Sed videat ne quæratur latebra perjurio:* "But let him take heede hee seeke not a starting hole for perjurie") hee must have done it, but if hee did it sans regret or scruple, if it greeved him not

Cic. *Off.* l. iii.

to doe it, t'is an argument his conscience is but in ill tearmes. Now were there any one of so tender or cheverell a conscience, to whome no cure might seeme worthie of so extreame a remedie: I should prise or regard him no whit the lesse. Hee cannot loose himselfe more handsomelie nor more excusablie. Wee cannot doe every thing, nor bee in every place. When all is done, thus and thus, must wee often, as unto our last Anker and sole refuge, resigne the protection of [our vessell unto the onely conduct of heaven. To what juster necessitie can hee reserve himselfe? What is lesse possible for him to doe, then what hee cannot effect, without charge unto his faith, and imputation to his honour? things which peradventure should bee dearer to him, then his owne salvation, and the safety of his people. When with enfoulded armes hee shall devoutly call on God for his ayde, may hee not hope, that his fatherlie mercie shall not refuse the extra-ordinarie favour, and sinne-forgiving grace of his all powerfull hand unto a pure

and righteous hand? They are dangerous examples, rare and crased exceptions to our naturall rules: wee must yeelde unto them, but with great moderation, and heedie circumspection. No private commoditie, may any way deserve wee should offer our conscience this wrong the common-wealth may, when it is most apparant and important. Timoleon did fitlie warrant and warde the strangenesse of his exploite by the teares hee shed, remembring it was with a brotherlie hand hee slew the tyrant. And it neerelie pinched his selfe-gnawne conscience, that hee was compelled to purchase the common good, at the rate of his honestie. The sacred Senate it selfe, by his meanes delivered from thraldome, durst not definitively decide of so haughtie an action, and rend in two so urgent and different semblances. But the Siracusans having opportunelie and at that very instant sent to the Corinthians, to require their protection, and a governour able to re-establish their towne in former majestie, and deliver

Sicilie from a number of pettie tyrants, which greevouslie oppressed the same : they appointed Timoleon, with this new caveat and declaration : That according as hee should well or ill demeane himselfe in his charge, their sentence should encline, either to grace him as the redeemer of his country, or disgrace him, as the murtherer of his brother. This fantasticall conclusion, hath some excuse upon the danger of the example, and importance of an act so different, and they did well, to discharge their judgement of it, or to embarke him some where else, and on their considerations. Now the proceedings of Timoleon in his renowned journie did soone yeelde his cause the cleerer, so worthily and vertuously did hee every way beare himselfe therein. And the good hap, which ever accompanied him in the encombrances and difficulties hee was to subdue in the atchievement of his noble enterprise, seemed to bee sent him by the Gods, conspiring to second, and consenting to favour his justification : This mans end is excusable, if ever any could bee. But

the encrease and profit of the publike revenues, which served the Roman Senate for a pretext of the ensuing-foule conclusion I purpose to relate, is not of sufficient force to warrant such injustice. Certaine citties had by the order and permission of the Senate, with mony purchased their libertie, at the hands of L. Sylla. The matter comming in question againe, the Senate condemned them, to bee fineable and taxed as before : and the mony they had employed for their ransome, should bee deemed as lost and forfetted. Civill warres doe often produce such enormous examples : That we punish private men, for somuch as they have beleeved us, when wee were other then now wee are. And one same magistrate doth laie the penaltie of his change on such as cannot do withall. The Schoolemaster whippeth his scholler for his docilitie, and the guide streeketh the blind man he leadeth. A horrible image of justice. Some rules in Philosophie are both false and fainte. The example proposed unto us, of respecting private utilitie before faith

given, hath not sufficient power by the circumstance they adde unto it. Theeves have taken you, and on your oath to pay them a certaine sum of money, have set you at libertie againe: They erre, that say, an honest man is quit of his worde and faith without paying, beeing out of their handes; There is noe such matter. What feare and danger hath once forced mee to will and consent unto, I am bound to will and performe being out of danger and feare. And although it have but forced my tongue, and not my will, yet am I bound to make my worde good, and keepe my promise. For my part, when it hath sometimes unadvisedly over-runne my thought, yet have I made a conscience to disavowe the same. Otherwise wee should by degrees come to abolish all the right a third man taketh and may challenge of our promises. *Quasi verò forti viro vis possit adhiberi:* "As though any force could be used upon a valiant man." T'is onely lawfull for our private interest to excuse the breache of promise, if wee have rashlie promised

CIC. *Off.* l. iii.

things in them selves wicked and unjust. For, the right of vertue ought to over-rule the right of our bonde. I have heretofore placed Epaminondas in the first ranke of excellent men, and now recant it not. Unto what high pitch raised hee the consideration of his particular dutie? who never slew man hee had vanquished; who for that unvaluable good of restoring his countrie hir libertie, made it a matter of conscience, to murther a Tyrant or his complices, without a due and formal course of lawe: and who judged him a bad man, how good a citizen soever, that amongest his enemies and in the furie of a battle, spared not his friend, or his hoste. Loe here a minde of a riche composition. Hee matched unto the most violent and rude actions of men, goodnesse and courtesie, yea and the most choise and delicate, that may bee found in the schoole of Philosophie. This so high-raised courage, so swelling and so obstinate against sorow, death and povertie, was it nature or arte, made it relent, even to the utmost straine of ex-

ceeding tendernesse and debonaretie of complexion? Being cloathed in the dreadfull liverie of steele and blood, hee goeth on crushing and brusing a nation, invincible to all others, but to himselfe: yet mildely relenteth in the midst of a combat or confusion, when hee meets with his host or with his friend. Verily, this man was deservedly fit to command in warre, which in the extremest furie of his innated rage, made him to feele the sting of courtesie, and remorse of gentlenesse: then when all enflamed, it foamed with furie, and burned with murder. T'is a miracle, to be able to joine any shew of justice with such actions. But it only belongeth to the unmatched courage of Epaminondas, in that confused plight, to joine mildnesse and facilitie of the most gentle behaviour that ever was, unto them, yea and pure innocencie it selfe. And whereas one told the Mamertins, that statutes were of no force against armed men: another to the Tribune of the people, that the time of justice and warre, were two: a third, that

the confused noise of warre and clang of armes, hindred him from understanding the sober voice of the lawes : This man was not so much as empeached from conceiving the milde sound of civilitie and kindnesse. Borrowed hee of his enemies the custome of sacrificing to the Muses (when hee went to the warres) to qualifie by their sweetnesse and mildnesse, that martiall furie, and hostile surlinesse? Let us not feare, after so great a master, to hold that some things are unlawfull, even against our fellest enemies : that publike interest, ought not to challenge all of all, against private interest : *Manente memoria etiam in dissidio publicorum fœderum privati juris :* "Some memorie of private right continuing even in disagreement of publike contracts."

OVID. *Pont.* l. i. *El.* viii. 37.

——— *et nulla potentia vires*
Præstandi, ne quid peccet amicus, habet :
No power hath so great might,
To make friends still goe right.

And that all things be not lawfull to an honest man, for the service of his King,

the generall cause and defence of the lawes. *Non enim patria præstat omnibus officiis, et ipsi conducit pios habere cives in parentes:* "For our countrey is not above all other duties; it is good for the countrey to have her inhabitants use pietie toward their parents." T'is an instruction befitting the times: wee need not harden our courages with these plates of iron and steele; it sufficeth our shoulders be armed with them: it is enough to dippe our pens in inke, too much, to die them in blood. If it be greatnesse of courage, and th' effect of a rare and singular vertue, to neglect friendship, despise private respects and bonds; ones word and kindred, for the common good and obedience of the Magistrate: it is verily able to excuse us from it, if we but allege, that it is a greatnesse unable to lodge in the greatnesse of Epaminondas his courage. I abhorre the enraged admonitions of this other unruly spirit.

CIC. *Off.* l. iii.

——*dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago*
Ulla, nec adversa conspecti fronte parentes
Commoveant, vultus gladio turbante verendos.

LUCAN. l. vii. 320. Cæs.

While swords are brandisht, let no shew of grace
Once moove you, nor your parents face to face,
But with your swords disturbe their reverend grace.

Let us bereave wicked, bloodie and traiterous dispositions, of this pretext of reason: leave wee that impious and exorbitant justice, and adhere unto more humane imitations. Oh what may time and example bring to passe! In an encounter of the civill warres against Cinna, one of Pompeyes souldiers, having unwittingly slaine his brother, who was on the other side, through shame and sorrow presently killed himselfe; And some yeeres after, in another civill warre of the said people, a souldier boldly demanded a reward of his Captaines for killing his owne brother. Falsly doe wee argue honour, and the beautie of an action, by it's profit: and conclude as ill, to thinke every one is bound unto it, and that it is honest, if it be commodious.

PROP. l. iii. *El.* viii. 7.

Omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta.
All things alike to all
Doe not well-fitting fall.

Choose we out the most necessary and most beneficiall matter of humane society, it will be a mariage: yet is it, that the Saints counsell findeth and deemeth the contrary side more honest, excluding from it the most reverend vocation of men: as we to our races assigne such beasts as are of least esteeme.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Of Repenting.

OTHERS fashion man, I repeat him; and represent a particular one, but ill made; and whom were I to forme a new, he should be far other then he is; but he is now made. And though the lines of my picture change and vary, yet loose they not themselves. The world runnes all on wheeles: All things therein moove without entermission; yea the earth, the rockes of Caucasus, and the Pyramides of Ægypt, both with the publike and their owne motion. Constancy it selfe is nothing but a languishing and wavering dance. I cannot settle my object; it goeth so unquietly and staggering, with a naturall drunkennesse. I take it in this plight, as it is at th' instant I ammuse my selfe about it. I describe not the essence, but the passage; not a passage from age to age, or as the people reckon, from seaven yeares to

seaven, but from day to day, from minute to minute. My history must be fitted to the present. I may soone change, not onely fortune, but intention. It is a counter-roule of divers and variable accidents, and irresolute imaginations, and sometimes contrary: whether it be that my selfe am other, or that I apprehend subjects, by other circumstances and considerations. Howsoever, I may perhaps gaine-say my selfe, but truth (as Demades said) I never gaine-say: Were my minde setled, I would not essay, but resolve my selfe. It is still a Prentise and a probationer. I propose a meane life, and without luster: T'is all one. They fasten all morall Philosophy as well to a popular and private life, as to one of richer stuffe. Every man beareth the whole stampe of humane condition. Authors communicate themselves unto the world by some speciall and strange marke; I the first, by my generall disposition; as Michael de Montaigne; not as a Grammarian, or a Poet, or a Lawyer. If the worlde complaine, I

speake too much of my selfe, I complaine, it thinkes no more of it selfe. But is it reason, that being so private in use, I should pretend to make my selfe publike in knowledge? Or is it reason, I should produce into the world, where fashion and arte have such sway and command, the raw and simple effects of nature; and of a nature as yet exceeding weake? To write bookes without learning, is it not to make a wall without stone or such like thing? Conceites of musicke are directed by arte; mine by hap. Yet have I this according to learning, that never man handled subject, he understood or knew, better then I doe this I have undertaken; being therein the cunningest man alive.

Secondly, that never man waded further into his matter, nor more distinctly sifted the partes and dependances of it, nor arrived more exactly and fully to the end he proposed unto himselfe. To finish the same, I have need of naught but faithfulnesse: which is therein as sincere and pure as may be found. I speake truth, not my

belly-full, but as much as I dare; and I dare the more, the more I grow into yeares: for it seemeth, custome alloweth old age more liberty to babbell, and indiscretion to talke of it selfe. It cannot herein be, as in trades; where the Crafts-man and his worke doe often differ. Being a man of so sound and honest conversation, write he so foolishly? Are such learned writings come from a man of so weake a conversation? who hath but an ordinary conceite, and writeth excellently, one may say his capacity is borrowed, not of himselfe. A skilfull man, is not skilfull in all things: But a sufficient man, is sufficient every where, even unto ignorance. Heere my booke and my selfe march together, and keepe one pace. Else-where one may commend or condemne the worke, without the worke-man; heere not: who toucheth one, toucheth the other. He who shall judge of it without knowing him, shall wrong himselfe more then me: he that knowes it, hath wholly satisfied mee. Happie beyond my merite, if I get this onely portion of

publike approbation, as I may cause men of understanding to thinke, I had beene able to make use and benefit of learning, had I beene endowed with any: and deserved better helpe of memorie. Excuse wee heere what I often say, that I seldome repent my selfe, and that my conscience is contented with it selfe; not of an Angels or a horses conscience, but as of a mans conscience. Adding ever this clause, not of ceremonie, but of true and essentiall submission; that I speake inquiring and doubting, meerely and simply referring my selfe, from resolution, unto common and lawfull opinions. I teach not; I report: Noe vice is absolutely vice, which offendeth not, and a sound judgement accuseth not: For, the deformitie and incommoditie thereof is so palpable, as peradventure they have reason, who say, it is chiefly produced by sottishnesse and brought forth by ignorance; so hard is it, to imagine one should know it without hating it. Malice sucks up the greatest part of her owne venome, and therewith impoysoneth herselfe. Vice, leaveth, as an

ulcer in the flesh, a repentance in the soule, which still scratcheth, and bloodieth it selfe. For reason effaceth other griefes and sorrowes, but engendereth those of repentance: the more yrkesome, because inwarde: As the colde and heate of agues is more offensive then that which comes outward. I account vice (but each according to their measure) not onely those which reason disalowes, and nature condemnes, but such as mans opinion hath forged as false and erronious, if lawes and custome authorize the same. In like manner there is noe goodnesse but gladdeth an honest disposition. There is truely I wot not what kinde or congratulation, of well doing, which rejoyceth in our selves, and a generous jollitie, that accompanieth a good conscience. A minde couragiouslie vicious, may happily furnish it selfe with security, but shee cannot bee fraught, with this selfe-joining delight and satisfaction. It is noe small pleasure, for one to feele himselfe preserved from the contagion of an age so infected as ours, and to say to himselfe; could a man enter

and see even into my soule, yet should he not finde me guilty, either of the affliction or ruine of any body, nor culpable of envie or revenge, nor of publike offence against the lawes, nor tainted with innovation, trouble or sedition; nor spotted with falsifying of my worde; and although the libertie of times alowed and taught it every man, yet could I never bee induced to touch the goods or dive into the purse of any French man; and have alwayes lived upon mine own, as well in time of war, as of peace: nor did I ever make use of any poore mans labour, without reward. These testimonies of an unspotted conscience are very pleasing, which naturall joy is a great benefit unto us; and the onely payment never faileth us. To ground the recompence of vertuous actions, upon the approbation of others, is to undertake a most uncertaine or troubled foundation, namely in an age so corrupt and times so ignorant, as this is: the vulgar peoples good opinion is injurious. Whom trust you in seeing what is commendable; God keepe mee from

beeing an honest man, according to the description I dayly see made of honour, each one by himselfe. *Quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt:* "What earst were vices, are now growne fashions." Some of my friendes, have sometimes attempted to schoole me roundly, and sift mee plainely, either of their owne motion, or envited by me, as to an office, which to a well composed minde, both in profit and lovingnesse, exceedeth all the duties of sincere amity. Such have I ever entertained with open armes of curtesie, and kinde acknowledgement. But now to speake from my conscience, I often found so much false measure in their reproches and praises, that I had not greatly erred if I had rather erred, then done well after their fashion. Such as wee especially, who live a private life not exposed to any gaze but our owne, ought in our hartes establish a touchstone, and thereto touch our deedes and try our actions; and accordingly, now cherish, and now chastise our selves. I have my owne lawes and tribunall, to judge of mee,

whither I adresse my selfe more then any where els. I restraine my actions according to other, but extend them according to my selfe. None but your self knowes rightly whether you be demisse and cruel, or loyall and devout. Others see you not, but ghesse you by uncertaine conjectures: They see not so much your nature, as your arte. Adhere not then to their opinion, but hold unto your owne. *Tuo tibi judicio est utendum. Virtutis et viciorum grave ipsius conscientiæ pondus est: qua sublata jacent omnia:* "You must use your owne judgment. The weight of the very conscience of vice and vertues is heavy: take that away, and all is downe." But where as it is said, that repentance nearely followeth sinne, seemeth not to emplye sinne placed in his rich aray, which lodgeth in us as in his proper mansion. One may disavowe and disclaime vices, that surprise us, and whereto our passions transport us: but those, which by long habite are rooted in a strong, and ankred in a powerfull will, are not subject to contradiction. Repentance is but a denying of our will,

Cic. *Nat. Deor.* l. iii.

and an opposition of our fantasies which diverts us here and there. It makes some disavow his former vertue and continencie.

Quæ mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ ?
Why was not in a youth same minde as now ?
Or why beares not this minde a youthfull brow ?

HOR. *Car.* l. iv. *Od.* x. 7.

That is an exquisite life, which even in his owne private keepeth it selfe in awe and order. Every one may play the jugler, and represent an honest man upon the stage ; but within, and in bosome, where all things are lawfull, where all is concealed ; to keepe a due rule or formall decorum, that's the point. The next degree, is to bee so in ones owne home, and in his ordinary actions, whereof we are to give accoumpt to no body : wherin is no study, nor arte. And therefore Bias describing the perfect state of a family, whereof (saith hee) the maister, be such inwardly by himselfe, as hee is outwardly, for feare of the lawes, and respect of mens speaches. And it was a worthy saying of Julius Drusus, to those worke-men, which for three thousande

crownes, offered so to reforme his house, that his neighbours should no more over looke into it: I will give you sixe thousand (said hee) and contrive it so, that on all sides every man may looke into it. The custome of Agesilaus is remembred with honour, who in his travaile was wont to take up his lodging in churches, that the people, and Gods themselves might pry into his private actions. Some have beene admirable to the world, in whom nor his wife, nor his servant ever noted any thing remarkeable. "Few men have beene admired of their familiars. No man hath beene a Prophet, not onely in his house, but in his owne country," saith the experience of histories. Even so in things of nought. And in this base example, is the image of greatnesse discerned. In my climate of Gascoigne they deeme it a jest to see mee in print. The further the knowledge which is taken of mee is from my home, of so much more woorth am I. In Guienne I pay Printers; in other places they pay mee. Upon this accident they ground, who living and present keepe close-

lurking, to purchase credit when they shall be dead and absent. I had rather have lesse. And I cast not my selfe into the world, but for the portion I draw from it. That done, I quit it. The people attend on such a man with wonderment, from a publike act, unto his owne doores : together with his roabes hee leaves-of his part ; falling so much the lower, by how much higher hee was mounted. View him within, there all is turbulent, disordered and vile. And were order and formality found in him, a lively, impartiall and well sorted judgement is required, to perceive and fully to discerne him in these base and private actions. Considering that order is but a dumpish and drowsie vertue : To gaine a Battaile, perfourme an Ambassage, and governe a people, are noble and woorthy actions ; to chide, laugh, sell, pay, love, hate, and mildely and justly to converse both with his owne and with himselfe ; not to relent, and not gaine-say himselfe, are thinges more rare, more difficult and lesse remarkeable.

Retired lives sustaine that way, what ever som say, offices as much more crabbed, and extended, then other lives doe. And private men (saith Aristotle) serve vertue more hardly, and more highly attend her, then those which are magistrates or placed in authority. Wee prepare our selves unto eminent occasions, more for glory then for conscience. The nearest way to come unto glory, were to doe that for conscience, which wee doe for glory. And me seemeth the vertue of Alexander representeth much lesse vigor in her large Theater, then that of Socrates, in his base and obscure excercitation. I easily conceive Socrates, in the roome of Alexander; Alexander in that of Socrates I cannot. If any aske the one, what hee can doe, hee will answere, "Conquer the world;" let the same question bee demaunded of the other, he will say, "Leade my life conformably to it's naturall condition;" A science much more generous, more important, and more lawfull.

The woorth of the minde consisteth not in going high, but in marching orderly.

Her greatnesse is not excercised in greatnesse; in mediocritye it is. As those, which judge and touch us inwardely, make no great accoumpt of the brightnesse of our publique actions; and see they are but streakes and poyntes of cleare Water, surging from a bottome, otherwise slimie and full of mud: So those who judge us by this gay outward apparance, conclude the same of our inward constitution, and cannot couple popular faculties as theirs are, unto these other faculties, which amaze them so farre from their levell. So doe we attribute savage shapes and ougly formes unto divels. As who doeth not ascribe high-raised eye-browes, open nostrils, a sterne frightfull visage, and a huge body unto Tamburlane, as is the forme or shape of the imagination we have fore-conceived by the bruite of his name? Had any heretofore shewed me Erasmus, I could hardly had bin induced to think, but whatsoever he had said to his boy or hostes, had beene Adages and Apothegmes. We imagine much more fitly an Artificer upon his close stoole or on his

wife, then a great judge, reverend for his carriage and regardfull for his sufficiencie; we thinke, that from those high thrones they should not abase themselves so low, as to live. As vitious mindes are often incited to do well by some strange impulsion, so are vertuous spirits mooved to doe ill. They must then bee judged by their settled estate, when they are neare themselves, and as we say, at home, if at any time they be so; or when they are nearest unto rest, and in their naturall seate. Naturall inclinations are by institution helped and strengthned, but they neither change nor exceed. A thousand natures in my time, have a thwart, a contrary discipline, escaped toward vertue or toward vice.

LUCAN. l.iv.237.

Sic ubi desuetæ silvis in carcere clausæ,
Mansuevêre feræ, et vultus posuere minaces,
Atque hominem dedicere pati, si torrida parvus
Venit in ora cruor, redeunt rabiesque furorque,
Admonitæque tument gustato sanguine fauces,
Fervet, et à trepido vix abstinet iræ magistro.

So when wilde beasts, disused from the wood,
Fierce lookes laide-downe, growe tame, closde in a cage,

Taught to beare man, if then a little blood
Touch their hot lips, furie returnes and rage ;
Their jawes by taste admonisht swell with vaines,
Rage boyles, and from fainte keeper scarse abstaines.

These originall qualities are not grubd out, they are but covered, and hidden: The Latine tongue is to mee in a manner naturall; I understand it better then French ; but it is now fortie yeares, I have not made use of it to speake, nor much to write: yet in some extreame emotions and suddaine passions, wherein I have twice or thrice falen, since my yeares of discretion ; and namely once, when my father being in perfect health, fell all along upon me in a swoune, I have ever, even from my very hart uttered my first wordes in Latine: Nature rushing and by force expressing it selfe, against so long a custome ; the like example is aleaged of divers others. Those which in my time, have attempted to correct the fashions of the world by new opinions, reforme the vices of apparance ; those of essence they leave

untouched if they encrease them not: And their encrease is much to be feared. We willinglie protract all other well-doing upon these externall reformations, of lesse cost, and of greatter merit; whereby wee satisfie good-cheape, other naturall consubstantiall and intestine vices. Looke a little into the course of our experience. There is no man (if he listen to himselfe) that doth not discover in himselfe a peculiar forme of his, a swaieng forme, which wrestleth against the institution, and against the tempests of passions, which are contrarie unto him. As for me, I feele not my selfe much agitated by a shocke; I commonly finde my selfe in mine owne place, as are sluggish and lumpish bodies. If I am not close and neare unto my selfe, I am never farre-off: My debauches or excesses transport me not much. There is nothing extreame and strange: yet have I found fits and vigorous lusts. The true condemnation, and which toucheth the common fashion of our men, is, that their very retreate is full of corruption and filth: The Idea of their amendment blurred and

deformed; their repentance crazed and faultie, very neere as much as their sinne. Some, either because they are so fast and naturally joyned unto vice, or through long custome, have lost all sence of it's uglinesse. To others (of whose rancke I am) vice is burthenous, but they counterballance it with pleasure, or other occasions: and suffer it, and at a certaine rate lend themselves unto it; though basely and viciously. Yet might happily so remote a disproportion of measure bee imagined, where with justice, the pleasure might excuse the offence, as we say of profit. Not onely being accidentall, and out of sinne, as in thefts, but even in the very excercise of it, as in the acquaintance, or copulation with women; where the provocation is so violent, and as they say, sometime unresistable. In a towne of a kinsman of mine; the other day, beeing in Armignac, I sawe a country man, commonly sirnamed the Theefe: who himselfe reported his life to have beene thus. Beeing borne a begger, and per-

ceiving, that to get his bread by the sweate of his brow and labour of his handes, would never sufficiently arme him against penury, he resolved to become a Theefe; and that trade had employed all his youth safely, by meanes of his bodily strength: for he ever made up Harvest and Vintage in other mens groundes; but so farre off, and in so great heapes, that it was beyond imagination, one man should in one night carry away so much upon his shoulders: and was so carefull to equall the pray, and disperce the mischiefe he did, that the spoile was of lesse import to every particular man.

Hee is now in olde yeares indifferently rich; for a man of his condition (Godamercy his trade) which hee is not ashamed to confesse openly, and to reconcile himselfe with God, hee affirmeth, to bee dayly ready, with his gettings, and other good turnes, to satisfie the posterity of those hee hath heeretofore wronged or robbed; which if himselfe bee not of abilitie to performe (for hee cannot doe all at once) hee will

charge his heires withall, according to the knowledge hee hath, of the wrongs by him done to every man. By this description, bee it true or false, hee respecteth theaft, as a dishonest and unlawfull action, and hateth the same: yet lesse then pinching want: Hee repents but simplie; for in regarde it was so counterballanced and recompenced, hee repenteth not. That is not that habit which incorporates us unto vice, and confirmeth our understanding in it; nor is it that boysterous winde, which by violent blastes dazeleth and troubleth our mindes, and at that time confoundes, and overwhelmes both us, our judgement, and all into the power of vice. What I doe, is ordinarily full and compleate, and I march (as wee say) all in one piece: I have not many motions, that hide themselves and slinke away from my reason, or which very neare are not guided by the consent of all my partes, without division, or intestine sedition: my judgement hath the whole blame, or commendation; and the blame it hath once, it hath ever: for,

almost from it's birth, it hath beene one, of the same inclination, course and force. And in matters of generall opinions, even from my infancie, I ranged my selfe to the point I was to hold. Some sinnes there are outragious, violent and suddaine ; leave we them.

But those other sinnes, so often reassumed, determined and advised upon, whether they bee of complexion, or of profession and calling, I cannot conceive how they should so long bee settled in one same courage, unlesse the reason and conscience of the sinner were therunto inwardly privie and constantly willing. And how to imagine or fashion the repentance thereof, which hee vanteth, doeth some times visite him, seemeth somewhat hard unto mee. I am not of Phythagoras Sect, that men take a new soule, when to receive Oracles, they approach the images of Gods ; unlesse he would say with all, that it must bee a strange one, new, and lent him for the time : our owne, giving so little signe of purification, and cleanesse worthy of that

office. They doe altogether against the Stoycall precepts, which appoint us to correct the imperfections and vices we finde in our selves, but withall forbidde us to disturbe the quiet of our minde. They make us beleeve, they feele great remorse, and are inwardly much displeased with sinne; but of amendment, correction or intermission, they shew us none. Surely there can bee noe perfect health; where the disease is not perfectlye remooved. Were repentance put in the scale of the ballance, it woulde weigh downe sinne. I finde no humour so easie to bee counterfeited as Devotion: If one conforme not his life and conditions to it, her essence is abstruse and concealed, her apparance gentle and stately.

For my part, I may in generall wish to bee other then I am; I may condemne and mislike my universall form; I may beseech God to grant mee an undefiled reformation, and excuse my naturall weakenesse; but mee seemeth I ought not to tearme this repentance noe more then the displeasure

of being neither Angell nor Cato. My actions are squared to what I am and conformed to my condition. I cannot doe better: And repentance dooth not properly concerne what is not in our power; sorrow dooth. I may imagine infinite dispositions of a higher pitch, and better governed then myne, yet doe I nothing better my faculties; noe more then mine arme becommeth stronger, or my wit more excellent, by conceiving some others to be so. If to suppose and wish a more nobler working then ours, might produce the repentance of our owne, wee should then repent us of our most innocent actions: forsomuch as wee judge that in a more excellent nature, they had beene directed with greater perfection and dignity; and our selves would doe the like. When I consult with my age of my youthes proceedings, I finde that commonly, (according to my opinion) I managed them in order. This is all my resistance is able to performe. I flatter not my selfe: in like circumstances, I should ever bee the same. It is not a

spot, but a whole dye, that staynes mee. I acknowledge noe repentance, that is superficiall, meane and ceremonious. It must touch mee on all sides, before I can terme it repentance. It must pinch my entrailes, and afflict them as deepely and throughly, as God himselfe beholdes mee. When in negotiating, many good fortunes have slipt mee for want of good discretion, yet did my projects make good choyce, according to the occurrences presented unto them. Their manner is ever to take the easier and surer side. I finde that in my former deliberations, I proceeded, after my rules, discreetely, for the subjects state propounded to mee; and in like occasions, would proceede a like; a hundred yeares, hence. I respect not what now it is, but what it was, when I consulted of it. The consequence of all dessignes consistes in the seasons; occasions passe, and matters change uncessantlie. I have in my time runne into some grosse, absurde and important errors; not for want of good advise, but of good happe. There are secret and

indivinable partes in the objects men doe handle; especiallie in the nature of men and mute conditions, without shew, and sometimes unknowne of the very possessours, produced and stirred up by suddaine occasions. If my wit coulde neyther finde nor presage them, I am not offended with it; the function thereof is contained within it's owne limits. If the successe beate mee, and favour the side I refused; there is noe remedy; I fall not out with my selfe; I accuse my fortune, not my endevour: that's not called repentance. Phocion had given the Athenians some counsell, which was not followed; the matter, against his opinion, succeeding happily; "How now Phocion," (quoth one) "art thou pleased the matter hath thrived so well?" "Yea" (saide hee) "and I am glad of it, yet repent not the advise I gave."

When any of my friends come to mee for counsell, I bestowe it francklie and clearelie, not as (well nigh all the worlde doth) wavering at the hazard of the matter, whereby the contrary of my meaning may

happen, that so they may justly finde fault with my advise: for which I care not greatly. For they shall doe mee wrong, and it became not mee to refuse them that dutie. I have no body to blame for my faultes or misfortunes, but my selfe. For in effect I seldome use the advise of other unlesse it be for complements sake, and where I have need of instruction or knowledge of the fact. Marry in things wherin nought but judgment is to bee employed; strange reasons may serve to sustaine, but not to divert me. I lende a favourable and curteous eare unto them all. But (to my remembrance) I never beleeved any but mine owne. With mee they are but Flyes and Moathes, which distract my will. I little regarde mine owne opinions, other mens I esteeme as little: Fortune payes mee accordingly. If I take no counsell I give as little. I am not much sought after for it and lesse credited when I give it: Neither knowe I any enterprise, either private or publike, that my advise hath directed and brought to conclusion. Even

those whome fortune had some-way tyde thereunto, have more willingly admitted the direction of others conceites, then mine. As one that am as jealous of the rights of my quiet, as of those of my authoritie; I would rather have it thus.

Where leaving me, they jumpe with my profession, which is, wholly to settle and containe mee in my selfe. It is a pleasure unto mee, to bee disinteressed of other mens affayres, and disingaged from their contentions. When sutes or businesses bee over past, how-so-ever it bee, I greeve little at them. For, the imagination that they must necessarily happen so, puts mee out of paine; behould them in the course of the Universe, and enchained in Stoycall causes. Your fantazie cannot by wishe or imagination, remoove one point of them, but the whole order of things must reverse both what is past, and what is to come. Moreover, I hate that accidentall repentance which olde age bringes with it.

Hee that in ancient times said, hee was beholden to yeares, because they had ridde

him of voluptuousnesse, was not of mine opinion. I shall never give impuissance thankes, for any good it can doe mee. *Nec tam aversa unquam videbitur ab opere suo providentia, ut debilitas inter optima inventa sit:* "Nor shall fore-sight ever bee seene so averse from hir owne worke, that weakenesse bee found to bee one of the best things." Our appetites are rare in olde-age: the blowe over-passed, a deepe sacietie seazeth upon us: Therein I see no conscience. Fretting care and weakenesse, imprint in us an effeminate and drowzie vertue.

Wee must not suffer our selves so fully to be carried into naturall alterations, as to corrupt or adulterate our judgement by them. Youth and pleasure have not heretofore prevailed so much over me, but I could ever (even in the midst of sensualities) discerne the ugly face of sinne: nor can the distaste which yeares bring on me, at this instant, keepe mee from discerning that of voluptuousnesse in vice. Now I am no longer in it, I judge of it as if I were

still there. I who lively and attentively examine my reason, finde it to be the same that possessed me in my most dissolute and licentious age ; unlesse perhaps, they being enfeebled and empayred by yeares, doe make some difference : And finde, that what delight it refuseth to affoorde mee in regarde of my bodilie health, it would no more denie mee, then in times past, for the health of my soule. To see it out of combate, I holde it not the more couragious. My temptations are so mortified and crazed, as they are not worthy of it's oppositions ; holding but my hand before me, I be-calme them. Should one present that former concupiscence unto it, I feare it would be of lesse power to sustaine it than heretofore it hath beene. I see in it, by it selfe no encrease of judgement, nor accesse of brightnesse, what it now judgeth, it did then. Wherefore if there be any amendment, t'is but diseased. Oh miserable kinde of remedie, to be beholden unto sicknesse for our health. It is not for our mishap, but for the good successe of our

judgement to performe this office. Crosses and afflictions, make me doe nothing but cursse them. They are for people, that cannot be awaked but by the whip. The course of my reason is the nimbler in prosperitie ; It is much more distracted and busied in the digesting of mischiefes, than of delights. I see much clearer in faire weather. Health forewarneth me, as with more pleasure, so to better purpose than sicknesse. I approached the nearest I could unto amendment and regularity, when I should have enjoyed the same ; I should be ashamed and vexed, that the misery and mishap of my old age could exceede the helth, attention and vigor of my youth : and that I should be esteemed, not for what I have beene, but for what I am leaft to be. "The happy life" (in my opinion) "not" (as said Antisthenes) "the happy death, is it that makes mans happinesse in this world."

I have not preposterously busied my selfe to tie the taile of a Philosopher, unto the head and bodie of a varlet : nor that this paultrie end, should disavow and belie the

fairest, soundest, and longest part of my life. I will present my selfe, and make a generall muster of my whole, every where uniformally. Were I to live againe, it should bee as I have already lived. I neither deplore what is past, nor dread what is to come: and if I be not deceived, the inward parts have neerely resembled the outward. It is one of the chiefest points wherein I am beholden to fortune, that in the course of my bodies estate, each thing hath beene carried in season. I have seene the leaves, the blossomes, and the fruit; and now see the drooping and withering of it. Happily, because naturally. I beare my present miseries the more gently, because they are in season, and with greater favour make mee remember the long happinesse of my former life. In like manner, my discretion may well bee of like proportion in the one and the other time: but sure it was of much more performance, and had a better grace, being fresh, jolly and full of spirit, then now that it is worne, decrepite and toylesome.

I therefore renounce these casuall and dolourous reformations. God must touch our heartes; our conscience must amende of it selfe, and not by re-inforcement of our reason, nor by the enfeebling of our appetites. Voluptuousnesse in it selfe is neither pale nor discouloured, to be discerned by bleare and troubled eyes. Wee should affect temperance and chastity for it selfe, and for Gods cause, who hath ordained them unto us: that which Catars bestow upon us, and which I am beholden to my chollicke for, is neither temperance nor chastitie. A man cannot boast of contemning or combating sensualitie, if hee see her not, or know not her grace, her force and most attractive beauties. I know them both, and therefore may speake it. But mee thinkes our soules in age are subject unto more importunate diseases and imperfections, then they are in youth. I said so being young, when my beardlesse chinne was upbraided mee; and I say it againe, now that my gray beard gives me authoritie. We entitle wisdome, the

frowardnesse of our humours, and the distaste of present things; but in truth wee abandon not vices, so much as wee change them; and in mine opinion for the worse. Besides a sillie and ruinous pride, combersome tattle, wayward and unsociable humours, superstition and a ridiculous carking for wealth, when the use of it is well-nigh lost, I finde the more envie, injustice and leaudnesse in it. It sets more wrinckles in our mindes, then on our foreheads: nor are there any spirits, or very rare ones, which in growing old taste not sowrely and mustily. Man marcheth entirely towards his encrease and decrease. View but the wisedome of Socrates, and divers circumstances of his condemnation, I dare say he something lent himselfe unto it by prevarication of purpose: being so neere, and at the age of seventie, to endure the benumming of his spirits richest pace, and the dimming of his accustomed brightnesse. What Metamorphoses have I seene it daily make in divers of mine acquaintances? It is a powerfull maladie, which

naturally and imperceptible glideth into us: There is required great provision of study, heed and precaution, to avoid the imperfections wherewith it chargeth us ; or at least to weaken their further progresse. I finde that notwithstanding all my entrenchings, by little and little it getteth ground upon mee : I hold out as long as I can, but know not whither at length it will bring mee. Happe what happe will, I am pleased the world know from what height I tumbled.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Of three Commerces or Societies.

WE must not cleave so fast unto our humours and dispositions. Our chiefest sufficiencie is, to applie our selves to divers fashions. It is a being, but not a life, to bee tied and bound by necessitie to one onely course. The goodliest mindes are those that have most varietie and pliablenesse in them. Behold an honourable testimonie of old Cato: *Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcunque ageret:* "Hee had a wit so turneable for all things alike, as one would say hee had beene onely borne for that hee went about to doe." Were I to dresse my selfe after mine owne manner, there is no fashion so good, whereto I would bee so affected or tied, as not to know how to leave and loose it. Life is a motion unequall, irregular and multiforme. It is not to bee the friend

LIV. *Bel. Mac.* l. x.

(lesse the master) but the slave of ones selfe to follow uncessantly, and bee so addicted to his inclinations, as hee cannot stray from them, nor wrest them. This I say now, as being extremely pestred with the importunitie of my minde, forsomuch as shee cannot ammuse her selfe, but whereon it is busied; nor employ it selfe, but bent and whole. How light soever the subject is one gives it, it willingly amplifieth, and wire-drawes the same, even unto the highest pitch of toile. It's idlenesse is therefore a painefull trade unto mee, and offensive to my health. Most wits have neede of extravagant stuffe, to un-benumme and exercise themselves: mine hath neede of it, rather to settle and continue it selfe: *Vitia otii negotio discutienda sunt:* "The vices of idlenesse should bee shaken off with businesse:" For, the most laborious care and principall studie of it, is, to studie it selfe. Bookes are one of those businesses that seduce it from studie. At the first thoughts that present themselves, it rouzeth up and makes proofe of all the vigour it

SEN. *Ep.* lvi.

hath. It exerciseth it's function sometimes toward force, sometimes toward order and comelinesse, it rangeth, moderates and fortifieth. It hath of it selfe to awaken the faculties of it: Nature having given it, as unto all other, matter of it's owne for advantage, and subjects fit enough whereon to devise and determine. Meditation is a large and powerfull studie to such as vigorously can taste and employ themselves therein. I had rather forge then furnish my minde.

There is no office or occupation either weaker or stronger, then that of entertaining of ones thoughts according to the minde, whatsoever it be. The greatest make it their vacation, *Quibus vivere est cogitare*, "to whom it is all one to live and to meditate." Nature hath also favoured it with this privilege, that there is nothing we can doe so long; nor action, whereto wee give ourselves more ordinarily and easily. It is the worke of Gods (saith Aristotle) whence both their happinesse and ours proceedeth. Reading serves mee especially, to awake my

conceit by divers objects; to busie my judgement, not my memorie. Few entertainments then, stay mee without vigour and force. T'is true that courtesie and beautie possesse mee, as much or more, then waight and depth. And because I slumber in all other communications, and lend but the superficiall parts of my attention unto them, it often befalleth mee, in such kinde of weake and absurd discourses, (discourses of countenance) to blurt out and answer ridiculous toies, and fond absurdities, unworthie a childe; or wilfully to hold my peace; therewithall more foolishly and incivilly. I have a kinde of raving fancie-full behaviour, that retireth mee into my selfe; and on the other side, a grosse and childish ignorance of many ordinarie things; by meanes of which two qualities, I have in my daies committed five or six as sottish trickes, as any one whosoever; which to my derogation may bee reported. But to follow my purpose, this harsh complexion of mine makes me nice in conversing with men (whom I must picke and cull out for

the nonce) and unfit for common actions. Wee live and negotiate with the people: If their behaviour importune us, if wee disdaine to lend our selves to base and vulgar spirits, which often are as regular as those of a finer mould; and all wisedome is unsavourie, that is not conformed to common insipience. Wee are no longer to intermeddle either with our, or other mens affaires: and both publike and private forsake such kinde of people.

The least wrested, and most naturall proceedings of our minde, are the fairest; the best occupations, those which are least forced. Good God, how good an office doth wisedome unto those, whose desires shee squareth according to their power! There is no science more profitable. "As one may," was the burden and favoured saying of Socrates: A sentence of great substance. Wee must addresse and stay our desires, to things most easie and neerest. Is it not a fond-peevish humour in mee, to disagree from a thousand; to whom my fortune

joineth mee, without whom I cannot live, to adhere unto one or two, that are out of my commerce and conversation; or rather to a fantasticall conceit, or fancie-full desire, for a thing I cannot obtaine? My soft behaviours and milde manners, enemies to all sharpnesse and foes to all bitternesse, may easily have discharged mee from envie and contention. To bee beloved, I say not, but not to bee hated, never did man give more occasion. But the coldnesse of my conversation, hath with reason robd mee of the good will of many; which may bee excused, if they interpret the same to other, or worse sense. I am most capable of getting rare amities, and continuing exquisite acquaintances. For so much as with so greedie hunger I snatch at such acquaintances as answer my taste and square with my humour. I so greedily produce and headlong cast my selfe upon them, that I doe not easily misse to cleave unto them, and where I light-on, to make a steadie impression; I have often made happie and successefull triall of it.

In vulgar worldly friendships, I am somewhat cold and barren ; for my proceeding is not naturall, if not unresisted and with hoised-full sailes. Moreover, my fortune having enured and allured mee, even from my infancie, to one sole-singular and perfect amitie, hath verily, in some sort, distasted mee from others : and over-deeply imprinted in my fantasie, that it is a beast sociable and for companie, and not of troupe, as said an ancient writer. So that it is naturally a paine unto mee, to communicate my selfe by halves, and with modification ; and that servile or suspicious wisedome, which in the conversation of these numerous and imperfect amities, is ordained and proposed unto us : Prescribed in these daies especially, Wherein one cannot speake of the world but dangerouslie or falselie. Yet I see, that who (as I doe) makes for his ende, the commodities of his lyfe (I meane essentiall commodities) must avoyde as a plague, these difficulties and quaintnesse of humour.

I should commend a high-raysed minde, that could both bende and discharge it

selfe: that where-ever hir fortune might transporte hir, shee might continue constant: that could discourse with hir neyghbour of all matters, as of hir building, of hir hunting and of any quarrell; and entertaine with delight a Carpenter or a Gardiner. I envye those which can be familiar with the meanest of their followers, and vouchsafe to contract friendship, and frame discourse with their owne servantes. Nor do I like the advise of Plato, ever to speake imperiouslye unto our attendants, without blithnesse and sance any familiaritie: be it to men or women servants. For, besides my reason, it is inhumanitie, and injustice, to attribute so much unto that prerogative of fortune: and the government, where lesse inequalitie is permited betweene the servant and mayster, is, in my conceite the more indifferent. Some other studie to rouze and raise their minde; but I to abase and prostrate mine: it is not faultie but in extension.

Narras et genus Æaci,
Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio.

HOR. *Car.* l. iii. *Od.* xix. 2.

Quo Chium pretio cadum
Mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,
Quo præbente domum, et quota
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.

You tell of Æacus the pedegree;
The warres at sacred Troye you doe display,
You tell not at what price a hogs-head we
May buie of the best Wine; who shall allaye
Wine-fire with water, at whose house to holde.
At what a-clock, I may be kept from colde.

Even as the Lacedemonian valoure had neede of moderation, and of sweete and pleasing soundes of Flutes, to flatter and allaye it in time of warre, least it should runne headlong into rashnesse and furye: whereas all other nations use commonly pearcing soundes and strong shouts, which violently excite, and enflame their souldyers courage: so thinke I (against ordinarye custome) that in the imployment of our spirite, wee have for the most part more need of leade than winges; of coldenesse and quiet, then of heate and agitation. Above all, in my minde, The onely way to playe the foole well, is to seeme wise among fooles: to speake as though ones tongue were ever

bent to *Fauelar' in punta di forchetta*: "To syllabize or speake minsinglie." One must lend himselfe unto those hee is with, and sometimes affect ignorance: Set force and subtiltie aside; In common employments t'is enough to reserve order; dragge your selfe even close to the ground, if they will have it so. The learned stumble willinglie on this blocke; making continuall muster, and open showe of their skill, and dispersing their bookes abroade: And have in these dayes so filled the closets, and possessed the eares of Ladyes, that if they retayne not their substance, at least they have theyr countenance: using in all sortes of discourse and subject how base or popular soever, a newe, an affected and learned fashion of speaking and writing. Ital. Prov.

Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta, quid ultra?
Concumbunt docte. JUVEN. *Sat.* vi. 189.

They in this language feare, in this they fashion
Their joyes, their cares, their rage, their inward passion;
What more? they learned are in copulation.

And alleadge Plato, and Saint Thomas for things, which the first man they meete would decide as well, and stand for as good a witnesse. Such learning as could not enter into their minde, hath staid on their tongues. If the well-borne will give any credit unto me, they shall be pleased to make their owne and naturall riches to prevaile and be of worth: They hide and shroud their formes under forraine and borrowed beawties: It is great simplicity, for any body to smother and conceale his owne brightnesse, to shine with a borrowed light: They are buried and entombed under the Arte of CAPSULA TOTÆ, it is because they doe not sufficiently know themselves: the World containes nothing of more beauty: It is for them to honour Artes, and to beawtifie embellishment. What neede they more then to live beloved and honoured? They have, and know but too much in that matter. There needes but a little rouzing and enflaming of the faculties that are in them.

When I see them medling with Rhetoricke

with Law, and with Logicke, and such like trash, so vaine and unprofitable for their use; I enter into feare, that those who advise them to such things, doe it, that they may have more law to governe them under that pretence. For, what other excuse can I devise for them? It is sufficient, that without us, they may frame, or roule the grace of their eyes, unto cheerefulnesse, unto severity, and unto mildenesse: and season a "No" with frowardnesse, with doubt and with favour; and require not an interpretor in discourses made for their service. With this learning they command without controule, and over-rule both Regents and Schooles. Yet if it offend them to yeeld us any pre-eminence, and would for curiosity sake have part in bookes also: Poesie is a study fit for their purpose: being a wanton, ammusing, subtill, disguised, and pratling Arte; all in delight, all in shew, like to themselves. They may also select diverse commodities out of History. In Morall Philosophy, they may take the discourses which enable them to

judge of our humours, to censure our conditions, and to avoide our guiles and treacheries ; to temper the rashnesse of their owne desires, to husband their liberty : lengthen the delights of life ; gently to beare the inconstancy of a servant, the peevishnesse or rudenesse of a husband, the importunity of yeares, the unwellcomnesse of wrinckles, and such like minde-troubling accidents. Loe heare the most and greatest share of learning I would assigne them. There are some particular, retired and close dispositions.

My essentiall forme is fit for communication, and proper for production : I am all outward and in apparance ; borne for society and unto friendship. The solitude I love and commend, is especially but to retire my affections and redeeme my thoughts unto my selfe ; to restraine and close up, not my steppes, but my desires and my cares, resigning all forraigne solicitude and trouble, and mortally shunning all manner of servitude and obligation ; and not so much the throng of men as the

importunity of affaires. Locall solitarinesse (to say trueth) doth rather extend and enlarge mee outwardly; I give my selfe to State-businesse, and to the world, more willingly when I am all alone. At the Court, and in presse of people, I close and slinke into mine owne skinne. Assemblies thrust mee againe into my selfe. And I never entertaine my selfe so fondly, so licenciously, and so particularly, as in places of respect, and ceremonious discretion. Our follies make mee not laugh, but our wisdomes doe. Of mine owne complexion, I am no enemy to the agitations and stirrings of our Courts: I have there past great part of my life: and am enured to bee merry in great assemblies; so it bee by entermission, and sutable to my humour.

But this tendernesse and coinesse of judgement (whereof I speake) doth perforce tie mee unto solitarinesse. Yea even in mine owne house, in the middest of a numerous familie and most frequented houses, I see people more then a good

many, but seldome such as I love to converse or communicate withall. And there I reserve, both for my selfe, and others, an unaccustomed libertie; making truce with ceremonies, assistance, and invitings, and such other troublesome ordinances of our courtesie (O servile custome and importunate manner) there every man demeaneth himselfe as hee pleaseth, and entertaineth what his thoughts affect; whereas I keepe my selfe silent, meditating and close, without offence to my guests or friends.

The men whose familiaritie and societie I hunt after, are those which are called honest, vertuous and sufficient: the image of whom doth distaste and divert mee from others. It is (being rightly taken) the rarest of our formes; and a forme or fashion chiefly due unto nature.

The end or scope of this commerce, is principally and simply familiarity, conference and frequentation: the exercise of mindes, without other fruite. In our discourses, all subjects are alike to mee: I care not though they want either waight or

depth: grace and pertinency are never wanting; all therein is tainted with a ripe and constant judgement, and commixt with goodnesse, liberty, cheerefulnesse, and kindnesse. It is not onely in the subject of Lawes and affaires of Princes, that our spirit sheweth it's beautie, grace and vigor: It sheweth them as much in private conferences. I know my people by their very silence and smyling, and peradventure discover them better at a Table, then sitting in serious counsell.

Hippomacus said, hee discerned good Wrestlers but by seeing them march through a Street. If learning vouchsafe to step into our talke, shee shall not be refused; yet must not shee be sterne, mastring, imperious and importunate, as commonly shee is; but assistant, and docile of hirselfe. Therein wee seeke for nothing but recreation and pastime: when we shall looke to be instructed, taught and resolved, we will goe seeke and sue to hir in hir Throne. Let hir if shee please keepe from us at that time; for, as commodious

and pleasing as shee is: I presume that for a neede wee could spare hir presence, and doe our businesse well-enough without hir. Wits well borne, soundly bred and exercised in the practise and commerce of men, become gracious and plausible of themselves. Arte is but the Checke-roule, and Register of the Productions uttered, and conceites produced by them.

The company of faire, and society of honest women is likewise a sweet commerce for me: *Nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus*: "For wee also have learned eyes." If the minde have not so much to solace hir-selfe, as in the former; the corporall sences, whose part is more in the second, bring it to a proportion neere unto the other; although in mine opinion not equall. But it is a society wherein it behooveth a man somewhat to stand upon his guard; and especially those that are of a strong constitution, and whose body can doe much, as in mee. In my youth I heated my selfe therein and was very violent; and endured all the rages and furious assaults, which

CIC. *Parad.*

Poets say happen to those who without order or discretion abandon themselves over-loosly and riotously unto it. True it is indeed, that the same lash hath since stood me instead of an instruction.

Quicunque Argolica de classe Capharea fugit,
Semper ab Euboicis vela retorquet aquis.
Greeke Sailers that Capharean Rockes did fly,
From the Eubœan Seas their sailes still ply.

OVID. *Trist* l. i. *El.* i. 83.

It is folly to fasten all ones thoughts upon it, and with a furious and indiscreet affection to engage himselfe unto it: But on the other side, to meddle with it without love or bond of affection, as Comediants doe, to play a common part of age and manners, without ought of their owne but bare-conned words, is verily a provision for ones safety: and yet but a cowardly one; as is that of him, who would forgoe his honour, his profit or his pleasure for feare of danger; for it is certaine that the practisers of such courses, cannot hope for any fruite able to moove or satisfie a worthy minde.

One must very earnestly have desired that, whereof he would enjoy an absolute delight: I meane, though fortune should unjustly favour their intention: which often hapneth because there is no woman, how deformed and unhandsome soever, but thinkes hir-selfe lovely, amiable and praise-worthy, either for hir age, hir haire or gate (for there are generally no more faire than foule ones): And the Brachmanian maides wanting other commendations; by Proclamation for that purpose, made shew of their matrimoniall parts unto the people assembled, to see if thereby at least they might get them husbands. By consequence there is not one of them, but upon the first oath one maketh to serve her, will very easily bee perswaded to thinke well of her selfe. Now this common treason and ordinary protestations of men in these daies, must needes produce the effects, experience already discovereth: which is, that either they joine together, and cast away themselves on themselves, to avoid us, or on their side follow also the example wee

give them ; acting their part of the play, without passion ; without care, and without love, lending themselves to this entercourse : *Neque affectui suo aut alieno obnoxiæ :* "Neither liable to their owne nor other folkes affection." Thinking, according to Lysias perswasions in Plato, they may so much the more profitably and commodiously yeeld unto us ; by how much lesse we love them : Wherein it will happen as in Comedies, the spectators shall have as much or more pleasure, as the Comedians. For my part, I no more acknowledge Venus without Cupid, then a motherhood without an off-spring : They are things which enter-lend and enter-owe one another their essence. Thus doth this cozening rebound on him that useth it ; and as it costs him little, so gets he not much by it. Those which made Venus a Goddesse, have respected that her principall beautie was incorporeall and spirituall. But shee whom these kinde of people hunt after, is not so much as humane, nor also brutall ; but such as wilde beasts, would not have her so filthy and terrestriall.

We see that imagination enflames them, and desire or lust urgeth them, before the body: Wee see in one and other sex, even in whole heards, choise and distinctions in their affections, and amongst themselves acquaintances of long continued good-will and liking. And even those to whom age denieth bodily strength, doe yet bray, neigh, roare, skip and wince for love. Before the deed wee see them full of hope and heat; and when the body hath plaid his part, even tickle and tingle themselves with the sweetnesse of that remembrance: some of them swell with pride at parting from it, others all weary and glutted, ring out songs of glee and triumph. Who makes no more of it but to discharge his body of some naturall necessitie, hath no cause to trouble others with so curious preparation. It is no food for a greedie and clownish hunger. As one that would not be accounted better then I am, thus much I will display of my youths wanton-errours: Not onely for the danger of ones health that followes that game (yet could I not avoid two, though light and cursorie assaults) but

also for contempt, I have not much beene given to mercenarie and common acquaintances. I have coveted to set an edge on that sensuall pleasure by difficultie, by desire, and for some glory. And liked Tiberius his fashions, who in his amours was swaied as much by modesty and noblenesse, as by any other qualitie. And Floras humour, who would prostitute her selfe to none worse then Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, and tooke delight in the dignitie and greatnesse of her lovers, doth some-what sute with mine. Surely glittering pearles and silken cloathes adde some-thing unto it, and so doe titles, nobilitie and a worthie traine. Besides which, I made high esteeme of the minde, yet so as the body might not justly be found fault withall : For, to speake my conscience, if either of the two beauties were necessarily to bee wanting, I would rather have chosen to want the mentall, whose use is to be emploied in better things. But in the subject of love ; a subject that chiefly hath reference unto the two senses of seeing and touching, some thing may be

done without the graces of the minde, but little or nothing without the corporall. Beautie is the true availefull advantage of women: It is so peculiarly theirs, that ours though it require some features and different allurements, is not in her right kue, or true bias, unlesse confused with theirs; childish and beardlesse. It is reported, that such as serve the great Turke under the title of beautie (whereof the number is infinite) are dismissed at furthest when they once come to the age of two and twenty yeeres. Discourse, discretion, together with the offices of true amitie, are better found amongst men: and therefore governe they the worlds affaires. These two commerces or societies are accidentall and depending of others; the one is troublesome and tedious for it's raritie; the other withers with old age: nor could they have sufficiently provided for my lives necessities. That of bookes, which is the third, is much more solid-sure and much more ours; some other advantages it yeeldeth to the two former; but hath for her share constancie

and the facilitie of her service. This accosteth and secondeth all my course, and every where assisteth me: It comforts mee in age, and solaceth me in solitarinesse: It easeth mee of the burden of a weary-some sloth; and at all times rids mee of tedious companies; it abateth the edge of fretting sorrow, on condition it bee not extreme and over-insolent. To divert me from any importunate imagination or insinuating conceit, there is no better way then to have recourse unto bookes: with ease they allure mee to them, and with facilitie they remoove them all. And though they perceive I neither frequent nor seeke them, but wanting other more essentiall, lively, and more naturall commodities, they never mutinie or murmure at me; but still entertaine mee with one and selfe-same visage. Hee may well walke a foot, that leades his horse by the bridle, saith the proverbe. And our James king of Naples and Sicilie, who being faire, yoong, healthy and in good plight, caused himselfe to bee caried abroad in a plaine wagon or skreene, lying upon an

homely pillow of course feathers, cloathed in a sute of home-spunne gray, and a bonet of the same, yet royally attended on by a gallant troupe of Nobles, of Litters, Coches, and of all sorts of choice led-horses, a number of gentlemen, and officers, represented a tender and wavering austeritie. The sicke man is not to be moaned, that hath his health in his sleeve. In the experience and use of this sentence, which is most true, consisteth all the commoditie I reape of bookes. In effect I make no other use of them, then those who know them not. I enjoy them, as a miser doth his gold; to know, that I may enjoy them when I list; my minde is setled and satisfied with the right of possession. I never travell without bookes, nor in peace nor in warre; yet doe I passe many daies and moneths without using them. It shall be anon, say I or to morrow, or when I please; in the meane while the time runnes away, and passeth without hurting mee. For it is wonderfull, what repose I take, and how I continue in this consideration, that they

are at my elbow to delight me when time shall serve: and in acknowledging what assistance they give unto my life. This is the best munition I have found in this humane peregrination; and I extremely bewaile those men of understanding that want the same. I accept with better will all other kindes of ammusements, how slight soever, for so much as this cannot faile me. At home I betake me somwhat the oftner to my Librarie, whence all at once I command and survay all my houshold; It is seated in the chiefe entrie of my house, thence I behold under mee my garden, my base court, my yard, and looke even into most roomes of my house. There without order, without method, and by peece-meales I turne over and ransacke, now one booke and now another. Sometimes I muse and rave; and walking up and downe I endight and enregister these my humours, these my conceits. It is placed on the third storie of a tower. The lowermost is my Chapell; the second a chamber with other lodgings, where I often lie, because I would bee

alone. Above it is a great ward-robe. It was in times past the most unprofitable place of all my house. There I passe the greatest part of my lives daies, and weare out most houres of the day. I am never there a nights: Next unto it is a handsome neat cabinet, able and large enough to receive fire in winter, and very pleasantly windowed. And if I feared not care, more then cost; (care which drives and diverts mee from all businesse) I might easily joine a convenient gallerie of a hundred paces long, and twelve broad, on each side of it, and upon one floore; having already, for some other purpose, found all the walles raised unto a convenient height. Each retired place requireth a walke. My thoughts are prone to sleepe, if I sit long. My minde goes not alone as if legges did moove it. Those that studie without bookes, are all in the same case. The forme of it is round, and hath no flat side, but what serveth for my table and chaire: In which bending or circling manner, at one looke it offreth mee the full sight of all

my bookes, set round about upon shelves or desks, five rankes one upon another. It hath three bay-windowes, of a farre-extending, rich and unresisted prospect, and is in diameter sixteene paces void. In winter I am lesse continually there: for my house (as the name of it importeth) is pearched upon an over-pearing hillocke; and hath no part more subject to all wethers then this: which pleaseth me the more, both because the accesse unto it is somwhat troublesome and remote, and for the benefit of the exercise, which is to be respected; and that I may the better seclude my selfe from companie, and keepe incrochers from mee: There is my seat, that is my throne. I endevour to make my rule therein absolute, and to sequester that onely corner from the communitie of wife, of children and of acquaintance. Else-where I have but a verball authoritie, of confused essence. Miserable, in my minde is hee, who in his owne home, hath no where to be to himselfe; where hee may particularly court, and at his pleasure

hide or with-draw himselfe. Ambition paieth her followers well, to keepe them still in open view, as a statue in some conspicuous place. *Magna servitus est magna fortuna:* "A great fortune is a great bondage." They cannot bee private so much as at their privie: I have deemed nothing so rude in the austeritie of the life, which our Church-men affect, as that in some of their companies they institute a perpetuall societie of place, and a numerous assistance amongst them in any thing they doe. And deeme it somewhat more tolerable to bee ever alone, then never able to be so. If any say to mee, It is a kinde of vilifying the Muses, to use them onely for sporte and recreation, he wots not as I doe, what worth, pleasure, sporte and passe-time is of: I had well nigh termed all other ends ridiculous. I live from hand to mouth, and with reverence bee it spoken, I live but to my selfe: there end all my designes. Being young I studied for ostentation; then a little to enable my selfe and become wiser; now for delight and re-

SEN. *Conf. ad Pol.* c. xxvi.

creation ; never for gaine. A vaine conceit and lavish humour I had after this kinde of stuffe ; not onely to provide for my neede but somewhat further to adorne and embellish my selfe withall : I have since partlie leaft it. Bookes have and containe diverse pleasing qualities to those that can duly choose them. But no good without paines ; no Roses without prickles. It is a pleasure not absolutely pure and neate, no more then all others ; it hath his enconveniences attending on it and somtimes waightie ones : The minde is therein exercised, but the body (the care whereof I have not yet forgotten) remaineth therewhilst without action, and is wasted, and ensorrowed. I know no excesse more hurtfull for me, nor more to be avoided by me, in this declining age. Loe here my three most favoured and particulare employments. I speak not of those I owe of dutie to the world.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

Of Diverting and Diversions.

I WAS once employed in comforting of a trulie-afflicted Ladie: the greatest part of their discourses are artificiall and ceremonious.

JUVEN. *Sat.* vi. 273.

Uberibus semper lachrimis, semperque paratis.
In statione sua, atque expectantibus illam,
Quo jubeat manare modo.

With plenteous teares; still readie in their stand,
Expecting still their Mistresses commaund,
How they must flowe, when they must goe.

Men doe but ill in opposing themselves against this passion; for opposition doth but incense and engage them more to sorrowe and quietnesse: The disease is exasperated by the jealousie of debate. In matters of common discourse, we see, that what I have spoken without heede or care, if one come to contest with me about it, I stiffly maintaine and make good mine owne; much more if it bee a thing wherein I am

interested. Besides, in so dooing, you enter but rudely into your matter, whereas a Physitions first entertainement of his pacient should be gracious, cheerefull and pleasing. An uglie and froward Physition wrought never any good effect. On the contrary then, wee must at first assist and smoothe their laments, and witnesse some approbation and excuse thereof. By which meanes you get credit to goe on, and by an easie and insensible inclination, you fall into more firme and serious discourses and fit for their amendment. I, who desired chieflie but to gull the assistants, that had their eyes cast on me, meant to salve their mischiefe; I verilie finde by experience, that I have but an ill and unfruitefull vaine to perswadè. I present my reasons either too sharpe, or too drie; or too stirringly or too careleslie. After I had for a while applyed my selfe to hir torment, I attempted not to cure it by strong and lively reasons; either because I want them, or because I supposed I might otherwise effect my purpose the better. Nor did I cull out

the severall fashions of comfort prescribed by Phylosophy: That the thing lamented is not ill, as Cleanthes: or but a little ill, as the Peripatetikes: That to lament is neither just, nor commendable; as Chrysippus; Nor this Epicurus, most agreeing with my manner, to translate the conceit of ykresome into delightsome things; Nor to make a loade of all this masse, dispensing the same, as one hath occasion, as Cicero. But faire and softly declining our discourses, and by degrees bending them unto subjects more neare; then a little more remote, even as shee more or lesse enclined to mee. I unperceaveably remooved those dolefull humours from hir; so that as long as I was with hir, so long I kept hir in cheerefull countenance, and untroubled fashion; wherein I used diversion. Those which in the same service succeded mee, found hir no whit amended: the reason was, I had not yet driven my wedge to the roote. I have peradventure else where, glaunced at some kindes of publike diversions. And the militarie customes used by Pericles in the

Peloponensian warre, and a thousand others else-where, to divert or withdrawe the armie of an enemie from their owne countrie, is too frequent in histories. It was an ingenious diverting, where-with the Lord of Himbercourt saved both himselfe and others in the towne of Liege, into which the Duke of Burgondie, who beleagred the same, had caused him to enter, to performe the covenants of their accorded yeelding. The inhabitants thereof, to provide for it, assembled by night, and began to mutinie against their former agreement, determining upon this advantage to set upon the Negotiators, now in their power. Hee perceiving their intent, and noise of this shoure readie to fall upon him, and the danger his lodging was in, forth-with rushed out upon them two cittizens (whereof hee had divers with him) furnished with most plausible and new offers to bee propounded to their counsell; but indeed forged at that instant to serve his turne withall, and to ammuse them. These two stayed the first approching storme, and carryed this incensed Hydra-

headed-monster multitude backe to the towne-house, to heare their charge, and accordingly to determine of it. The consultation was short; when loe a second tempest came rushing on, more furiouslie inraged then the former; to whom he immediately dispatched foure new and semblable intercessors, with protestations, that now they were in earnest to propose and declare newe and farre more ample conditions unto them, wholly to their content and satisfaction; whereby this disordered rout was againe drawen to their Conclave and Senate-house. In summe, he by such a dispensation of amusements, diverting their headlong fury, and dissipating the same with vaine and frivolous consultations, at length lulled them into so secure a sleepe, that he gained the day, which was his chiefest drift and only aimed scope. This other storie is also of the same predicament. Atalanta a maid of rare surpassing beautie, and of a wondrous strange disposition, to ridde her selfe from the importunate pursuit of a thousand amorous

sutors, who sollicited her for mariage, prescribed this law unto them; that shee would accept of him that should equall her in running; on condition those she should overcome might lose their lives. Some there were found, who deemed this prize worthy the hazard, and who incurred the penaltie of so cruell a match. Hippomenes comming to make his essay after the rest, devoutly addressed himselfe to the divine protectresse of all amorous delights, earnestly invoking her assistance; who gently listning to his hearty praiers, furnished him with three golden Apples, and taught him how to use them. The scope of the race being plaine, according as Hippomenes perceived his swift-footed mistresse to approch his heeles, he let fall (as at unawares) one of his Apples: the heedlesse maiden gazing and wondring at the alluring beautie of it, failed not to turne and take it up.

Obstupuit virgo, nitidique cupidine pomi,
Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.
The maid amaz'd, desiring that faire gold,
Turnes by her course, takes it up as it rold.

OVID. *Met.* lib. x. 666.

The like hee did (at his need) with the second and third: untill by this digressing and diverting, the goale and advantage of the course was judged his. When Physitians cannot purge the rheume, they divert and remoove the same unto some lesse dangerous part. I also perceive it to be the most ordinary receit for the mindes diseases. *Abducendus etiam nonnunquam animus est ad alia studia, sollicitudines, curas, negotia: Loci denique mutatione, tanquam ægroti non convalescentes, sæpe curandus est:* "Our minde also is sometimes to bee diverted to other studies, cogitations, cares and businesses: and lastly to be cured by change of place, as sicke folkes use, that otherwise cannot get health." We make it seldome to shocke mischiefes with direct resistance: we make it neither to beare nor to breake, but to shun or divert, the blow. This other lesson is too high, and overhard. It is for them of the first ranke, meerely to stay upon the thing it selfe, to examine and judge it. It belongeth to one onely Socrates, to accost and entertaine

death with an undaunted ordinary visage, to become familiar and play with it. He seeketh for no comfort out of the thing it selfe. To die seemeth unto him a naturall and indifferent accident: thereon he wishly fixeth his sight, and thereon he resolveth without looking else-where. Hegisias his disciples, who with hunger starved themselves to death, incensed thereunto with the perswading discourses of his lessons; and that so thicke as King Ptolomey forbad him any longer to entertaine his schoole with such murtherous precepts. Those considered not death in it selfe, they judge it not: This was not the limit of their thoughts, they run on, and ayme at another being. Those poore creatures we see on scaffolds, fraught with an ardent devotion, therein to the uttermost of their power, employing all their sences; their eares attentive to such instructions as Preachers give them, their hands and eies lift up towardes heaven; their voice uttering loud and earnest praiers; all with an eager and continual ruth-mooving motion; doe verily what in such an un-

avoidable exigent is commendable and convenient. One may well commend their religion, but not properly their constancy. They shunne the brunt; they divert their consideration from death; as we use to dandle and busie children, when we would lance them or let them bloud. I have seene some, who if by fortune they chanced to cast their eies towards the dreadfull preparations of death, which were round about them, fall into trances, and with fury cast their cogitations else-where. We teach those that are to passe-over some steepy downe fall or dreadfull abisse, to shut or turne aside their eies. Subrius Flavius, being by the appointment of Nero to be put to death by the hands of Niger, both chiefe commanders in war: when he was brought unto the place where the execution should be performed, seeing the pit Niger had caused to be digged for him uneven and unhandsomely made; "Nor is this pit" (quoth he to the souldiers that stood about him) "according to the true discipline of war:" And to Niger, who willed him to

hold his head steddy, "I wish thou wouldest stricke as steddily." He guessed right; for Nigers arme trembling, he had divers blowes at him before he could strike it off. This man seemeth to have fixed his thoughts surely and directly on the matter. He that dies in the fury of a battle, with weapons in hand thinkes not then on death, and neither feeleth nor considereth the same: the heate of the fight transports him. An honest man of my acquaintance, falling downe in a single combat, and feeling himselfe stab'd nine or ten times by his enemy, was called unto by the by-standers to call on God and remember his conscience: but he tould me after, that albeit those voices came unto his eares, they had no whit mooved him, and that he thought on nothing, but how to discharge and revenge himselfe. In which combat he vanquished and slew his adversary.

He who brought L. Syllanus his condemnation, did much for him; in that when he heard him answer he was prepared to die, but not by the hands of base villaines;

ran upon him with his souldiers to force him; against whom obstinately defending himselfe (though unarmed) with fists and feet; he was slaine in the conflict: dispersing with a ready and rebellious choller the painefull sence of a long and fore-prepared death; to which he was assigned. We ever thinke on somewhat else: either the hope of a better life doth settle and support us, or the confidence of our childrens worth; or the future glory of our name; or the avoyding of these lives mischieves; or the revenge hanging over their heads that have caused and procured our death:

VIRG. *Æn.* l. iv. 382, 387.

Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido
Sæpe vocaturum.
Audiam, et hæc manes veniet mihi fama sub imos.

I hope, if powers of heaven have any power,
On rockes he shall be punisht, at that houre,
He oft on Didoes name shall pittilesse exclaime.
This shall I heare, and this report, shall to me in my grave resort.

Xenophon sacrificed with a crowne on his head, when one came to tell him the death

of his sonne Gryllus in the battell of Mantinea. At the first hearing whereof hee cast his crowne to the ground; but finding upon better relation how valiantly hee died, hee tooke it up and put it on his head againe. Epicurus also at his death comforted himselfe in the eternitie and worth of his writings. *Omnes clari et nobilitati labores fiunt tolerabiles:* "All glorious and honourable labours are made tolerable." And the same wound, and the same toile (saith Xenophon) toucheth not a Generall of an armie, as it doth a private souldier. Epaminondas tooke his death much the more cheerefully, being informed that the victorie remained on his side. *Hæc sunt solatia, hæc fomenta summorum dolorum:* "These are the comforts, these the eases of most grievous paines." And such other like circumstances ammuse, divert and remoove us from the consideration of the thing in it selfe. Even the arguments of Philosophie, at each clappe wrest and turne the matter aside, and scarcely wipe away the scabbe thereof. The first man of the first Philos-

Cic. *Tusc.* l. ii.

Ibid.

ophicall Schoole and Superintendent of the rest, that great Zeno, against death, cried out: "No evill is honourable; death is: therefore is death no evill." Against drunkennesse: "No man entrusts his secrets to a drunkard; every one to the wise: therefore the wise will not be drunke." Is this to hit the white? I love to see, that these principall wits cannot rid themselves of our company. As perfect and absolute as they would be, they still are but grosse and simple men. Revenge is a sweet-pleasing passion; of a great and naturall impression: I perceive it well, albeit I have made no triall of it. To divert of late a yoong Prince from it, I told him not, hee was to offer the one side of his cheeke, to him who had strooke him on the other, in regard of charitie; nor displaid I unto him the tragicall events Poesie bestoweth upon that passion. There I left him, and strove to make him taste the beautie of a contrary image: the honour, the favour and the good-will he should acquire by gentlenesse and goodnesse: I diverted him to ambition.

Behold how they deale in such cases. If your affection in love be over-powerfull, disperse or dissipate the same, say they; and they say true, for I have often, with profit made triall of it: Breake it by the vertue of severall desires, of which one may be Regent or chiefe Master, if you please; but for feare it should misuse and tyrannize you, weaken it with dividing, and protract it with diverting the same.

Cùm morosa vago singultiet inguine vena,
Conjicito humorem collectum in corpora quœque.
When raging lust excites a panting tumor,
To divers parts send that collected humor.

PERS. *Sat.* vi. 73; LUCR. l. iv. 1056.

And looke to it in time, lest it vex you, if it have once seized on you.

Si non prima novis conturbes vulnera plagis,
Volgivagique vagus Venere ante recentia cures.
Unlesse the first wounds with new wounds you mix,
And ranging cure the fresh with common tricks.

LUCR. l. iv. 1061.

I was once neerely touched with a heavie displeasure, according to my complexion; and yet more just then heavie: I had per-

adventure lost my selfe in it, had I only relied upon mine owne strength. Needing a vehement diversion to with-draw me from it; I did by Art and studie make my selfe a Lover, whereto my age assisted mee; love discharged and diverted me from the inconvenience, which good-will and amitie had caused in mee. So is it in all things else. A sharpe conceit possesseth, and a violent imagination holdeth mee: I finde it a shorter course to alter and divert, then to tame and vanquish the same: if I cannot substitute a contrary unto it, at least I present another unto it. Change ever easeth, varietie dissolveth, and shifting dissipateth. If I cannot buckle with it, I slip from it: and in shunning it, I stray and double from it. Shifting of place, exercise and company, I save my selfe amid the throng of other studies and ammusements, where it loseth my tracke, and so I slip away. Nature proceedeth thus, by the benefit of inconstancie: For, the time it hath bestowed on us, as a soveraigne Physitian of our passions, chiefly obtaines

his purpose that way, when fraughting our conceits with other and different affaires, it dissolveth and corrupteth that first apprehension, how forcible soever it be. A wise man seeth little lesse his friend dying at the end of five and twenty yeeres, then at the beginning of the first yeere; and according to Epicurus, nothing lesse: for he ascribed no qualification of perplexities, either to the foresight or antiquitie of them. But so many other cogitations crosse this, that it languisheth, and in the end groweth weary. To divert the inclination of vulgar reports, Alcibiades cut off his faire dogges eares and taile, and so drove him into the market place; that giving this subject of prattle to the people, they might not meddle with his other actions. I have also seen some women, who to divert the opinions and conjectures of the babling people, and to divert the fond tatling of some, did by counterfet and dissembled affections, overshadow and cloake true affections. Amongst which I have noted some, who in dissembling and counterfeting have suffred

themselves to be intrapped wittingly and in good earnest; quitting their true and originall humor for the fained: of whom I learne, that such as finde themselves well seated, are very fooles to yeelde unto that maske. The common greetings, and publike entertainements being reserved unto that set or appointed servant, beleeve there is little sufficiencie in him, if in the end he usurpe not your roome and send you unto his. This is properly to cut out and stitch up a shoe, for another to put on. A little thing doth divert and turne us; for a small thing holds us. We do not much respect subjects in grosse and alone: they are circumstances, or small and superficiall images that moove and touch us; and vaine rindes which rebound from subjects.

LUCR. l. v. 212. *Folliculos ut nunc teretes æstate cicadæ Linquunt.*

As grasse-hoppers in summer now forsake
The round-grown sheafes, which they in time should take.

Plutarke himselfe bewailes his daughter by the fopperies of his childehood. The

remembrance of a farewell, of an action, of a particular grace, or of a last commendation, afflict us. Cæsars goune disquieted all Rome, which his death had not done; The very sound of names, which gingleth in our eares, as "Oh my poore maister;" or, "Alas my deare friend;" "Oh my good father;" or, "Alas my sweete daughter." When such like repetitions pinch me, and that I looke more nearely to them, I finde them but grammaticall laments, the word and the tune wound mee. Even as Preachers exclamations doe often moove their auditorie more, then their reasons; and as the pittyfull groane of a beast yerneth us though it be killed for our use; without poysing or entring therewhilst, into the true and massie essence of my subject.

His se stimulis dolor ipse lacessit. LUCAN. l. ii. 42.

Griefe by these provocations,
Puts it selfe in more passions.

They are the foundations of our mourning. The conceipt of the stone, namely in the yarde hath sometime for three or foure dayes

together, so stopped my urine, and brought mee so neare deathes-dore, that it had beene meere folly in mee, to hope, nay to desire, to avoyde the same, considering what cruell pangs that painefull plight did seaze mee with. Oh how cunning a maister in the murthering arte, or hangmans trade was that good Emperour, who caused malefactors yardes to bee fast-tide, that so hee might make them dye for want of pissing. In which ill plight finding my selfe, I considered by how slight causes and frivolous objects, imagination nourished in mee the griefe to loose my life: with what Atomes the consequence and difficulty of my dislodging was contrived in my minde; to what idle conceits and frivolous cogitations we give place in so waighty a case or important affaire. A Dogge, a Horse, a Hare, a Glasse, and what not? were corrupted in my losse. To others, their ambitious hopes, their purse, their learning; In my minde as sottishly. I view death carelessely when I behould it universally as the end of life. I overwhelme and contemne it thus in great,

by retayle it spoyles and proules me. The teares of a Lacquey, the distributing of my cast sutes, the touch of a knowne hand, an ordinary consolation; doth disconsolate and entender me. So doe the plaints and fables of trouble vex our mindes; and the wailing laments of Dydo, and Ariadne passionare even those, that beleeve them not in Virgill, nor in Catullus: It is an argument of an obstinate nature, and indurate hart, not to be mooved therewith: as for a wonder, they report of Polemon: who was not so much as appaled, at the biting of a Dog, who tooke away the braune or calfe of his leg. And no wisedome goeth so far, as by the due judgement to conceive aright the evident cause of a Sorrow and griefe, so lively and wholly that it suffer or admit noe accession by presence, when eyes and eares have their share therein: parts that cannot be agitated but by vaine accidents. Is it reason, that even arts should serve their purposes, and make their profit of our imbecility and naturall blockishnes? An Orator (saith Rethorick) in the play of

his pleading, shall bee mooved at the sound of his owne voice, and by his fained agitations; and suffer himselfe to be cozoned by the passion he representeth: imprinting a lively and essentiall sorrow, by the jugling he acteth, to transferre it into the judges, whome of the two it concerneth lesse: As the persons hyred at our funerals, who to ayde the ceremony of mourning, make sale of their teares by measure, and of their sorrow by waight. For although they strive to act it in a borrowed forme, yet by habituating and ordering their countenance, it is certaine they are often wholly transported into it, and entertaine the impression of a true and unfained melancholly. I assisted amongst divers others of his friends, to convay the dead corpes of the Lord of Grammont from the siege of Laferre, where hee was untimely slaine, to Soissons. I noted that every where as we passed a long, we filled with lamentation and teares all the people we met, by the onely shewe of our convoyes mourning attire; for the deceased mans name was not so much as knowne, or hard of

about those quarters. Quintilian reporteth, to have seene Comediants so farre ingaged in a sorrowfull part, that they wept after being come to their lodgings: and of himselfe, that having undertaken to moove a certaine passion in another, hee had found himselfe surprised not onely with shedding of teares, but with a palenesse of countenance, and behaviour of a man truely dejected with griefe. In a country neare our Mountaynes, the women say and unsay, weepe and laugh with one breath: as Martin the Priest; for, as for their lost husbands they encrease their waymentings by repetition of the good and gracefull parts they were endowed with, therewithall under one they make publike relation of those imperfections; to worke, as it were some recompence unto themselves, and transchange their pitty unto disdaine; with a much better grace then we, who when we loose a late acquaintance, strive to loade him with new and forged prayses, and to make him farre other, now that we are deprived of his sight, then hee seemed to bee when wee enjoyed and

beheld him. As if mourning were an instructing party ; or teares cleared our understanding by washing the same. I renounce from this time forward all the favourable testimonies any man shall affoorde mee, not because I shall deserve them, but because I shall bee dead. If one demand that fellow, what interest hee hath in such a siege ; The interest of example (will hee say) and common obedience of the Prince ; I nor looke nor pretend any benefit thereby ; and of glory I know how small a portion commeth to the share of a private man, such as I am. I have neyther passion nor quarrell in the matter ; yet the next day shall you see him all changed, and chafing, boyling and blushing with rage, in his ranke of battaile, ready for the assault. It is the glaring reflecting of so much steele, the flashing thundering of the Cannon, the clang of trumpets, and the ratling of Drummes, that have infused this new furie, and rankor in his swelling vaines. A frivolous cause, will you say : How a cause ? There needeth none to excite our minde. A doating

humour without body, without substance overswayeth and tosseth it up and downe. Let mee thinke of building Castles in Spayne, my imagination will forge mee commodities and afforde mee meanes and delights wherewith my mynde is really tickled and essentially gladded. How often do wee pester our spirits with anger or sadnesse by such shaddowes, and entangle our selves into fantasticall passions which alter both our mynde and bodye? what astonished, flearing and confused mumpes and mowes doth this dotage stirre up in our visages? what skippings and agitations of members and voyce, seemes it not by this man alone, that hee hath false visions of a multitude of other men with whome hee dooth negotiate; or some inwarde Goblin that torments him? Enquire of your selfe, where is the object of this alteration? Is there any thing but us in nature, except subsisting nullitye? over whome it hath any power? Because Cambyses dreamed that his brother should bee King of Persia, hee put him to death; a brother whom he loved, and ever trusted.

Aristodemus King of the Messenians killed himselfe ; upon a conceite he tooke of some ill presage, by, I know not what howling of his Dogs ; And King Midas did as much, beeing troubled and vexed by a certaine unpleasing dreame of his owne. It is the right way to prize ones life at the right worth of it, to forgo it for a dreame. Heare notwithstanding our mindes triumph over the bodies weakenesses and misery ; in that it is the prey and marke of all wrongs and alterations, to feede on and aime at. It hath surely much reason to speake of it.

PROP. 1. iii. *El.* iv. 7.

O prima infœlix fingenti terra Prometheo ;
Ille parum cauti pectoris egit opus.
Corpora disponens, mentem non vidit in arte ;
Recta animi primum debuit esse via.

Unhappy earth first by Prometheus formed,
Who of small providence a worke performed :
He framing bodies saw in arte no minde :
The mindes way first should rightly be assign'd.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

Upon some Verses of Virgill.

PROFITABLE thoughts, the more full and solide they are, the more combersome and heavy are they; vice, death, poverty and diseases, are subjects that waigh and grieve. We must have our minde instructed with meanes to sustaine and combate mischiefes, and furnished with rules how to live well and believe right: and often rouze and exercise it in this goodly study. But to a minde of the common stampe; it must be with intermission and moderation; it groweth weake, by being continually over-wrested: When I was young, I had neede to be advertised and sollicited to keepe my selfe in office: Mirth and health (saies one) sute not so well with these serious and grave discourses. I am now in another state. The conditions of age doe but over-much admonish, instruct and preach unto me. From the excesse of

jollity, I am falne into the extreame of severity; more peevish and more untoward. Therefore, I doe now of purpose somewhat give way unto licentious allurements; and now and then employ my minde in wanton and youthfull conceits, wherein she recreates hir selfe. I am now but too much setled; too heavy and too ripe. My yeares read me daily a lesson of coldnesse and temperance. My body shunneth disorder, and feares it: it hath his turne to direct the minde toward reformation; his turne also to rule and sway; and that more rudely and imperiously. Be I awake or asleepe, it doth not permit me one houre but to ruminate on instruction, on death, on patience and on repentance. As I have heeretofore defended my selfe from pleasure, so I now ward my selfe from temperance: it haleth me too far backe, and even to stupidity. I will now every way be master of my selfe. Wisdom hath hir excesses, and no lesse neede of moderation, then folly. So that least I should wither, tarnish and over cloy my selfe with prudence,

in the intermissions my evils affoord mee;

Mens intenta suis ne siet usque malis.
Still let not the conceit attend,
The ils that it too much offend.

OVID. *Trist.* li. iv. *El.* i. 4.

I gently turne aside, and steale mine eies from viewing that tempestuous and cloudy skie, I have before me; which (thankes be to God) I consider without feare, but not without contention and study. And ammuse my selfe with the remembrance of passed youth-tricks:

——————— *animus quod perdidit, optat,*
Atque in præterita se totus imagine versat.
The minde, what it hath lost, doth wish and cast,
And turne and wind in Images forepast.

PETRON. *Arb. Sat.*

That infancy looketh forward, and age backward; was it not that which Janus his double visage signified? yeares entraine me if they please; but backward. As far as mine eies can discerne that faire expired season, by fits I turne them thitherward. If it escape my bloud and veines, yet will

I not roote the image of it out of my memory:

MART. l. x. *Epig.* xxiii.

——————— *hoc est,*
Vivere bis, vita posse priore frui.
This is the way for any to live twise,
Who can of former life enjoy the price.

Plato appoints old men to be present at youthfull exercises, dances and games, to make them rejoyce at the bodies agility and comlinesse of others, which is now no longer in them; and call to their remembrance, the grace and favour of that blooming age: and willeth them to give the honour of the victory to that young-man, who hath gladded and made most of them mery. I was heretofore wont to note sullen and gloomy daies, as extraordinary: now are they my ordinary ones; the extraordinary are my faire and cleere daies. I am ready to leape for joy, as at the receaving of some unexspected favour, when nothing grieveth mee. Let me tickle my selfe, I can now hardly wrest a bare smile from this wretched body of mine. I am not pleased

but in conceite and dreaming: by sleight to turne aside the way-ward cares of age: but sure ther-s neede of other remedies, then dreaming, a weake contention of arte against nature. It is meere simplicitie, as most men doe, to prolong and anticipate humane incommodities. I had rather be lesse while olde, then old before my time. I take hold even of the least occasions of delight I can meet withall. I know by how heare-say divers kindes of wise, powerfull and glorious pleasures: but opinion is not of sufficient force over me, to make mee long for them. I would not have them so stately, lofty and disdainfull; as pleasant gentle and ready. *A natura discedimus; populo nos damus, nullius rei bono auctori:* "We forsake nature, We followe the people aucthor of no good." My Philosophie is in action, in naturall and present, little in conceit. What if I should be pleased to play at cob-nut, or whip a top?

SEN. *Ep.* XCIX.

Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem. ENNIUS.

He did not prize what might be said,
Before how al might safe be laid.

Voluptuousnesse is a qualitie little ambitious; it holds it selfe rich enough of it selfe without any accesse of reputation; and is best affected where it is most obscured. That young man should deserve the whip, who would spend his time in choosing out the neatest Wine, and best sauces. There is nothing I ever knew or esteemed lesse: I now beginne to learne it. I am much ashamed of it, but what can I doe withall? and am more ashamed and vexed, at the occasions that compell me to it. It is for us to dally, doate and trifle out the time; and for youth to stand upon nice reputation, and hold by the better end of the staffe. That creepeth towards the world and marcheth toward credite; we come from it. *Sibi arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam, sibi pilam, sibi natationes et cursus habeant: nobis senibus, ex lusionibus multis, talos relinquant, et tesseras:* "Let them keepe their armor, their horses, their lances, their polaxes, their tennis, their swimming, and their running; and of their many games, let them put over to us old men

CIC. *De Senectute.*

the tables and the cardes." The very lawes send us home to our lodgings. I can do no lesse in favour of this wretched condition, whereto my age forceth mee, then furnish it with somewhat to dandle and ammuse it selfe, as it were childehood; for when all is done we fall into it againe. And both wisedome and folly shall have much a doe, by enterchange of offices to support and succour me in this calamitie of age.

Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem. HOR. I. iv. *Od.* xii. 27.
With short-like-foolish tricks,
Thy gravest counsels mixe.

Withall I shun the lightest pricklings; and those which heretofore could not have scratcht me, doe now transpearce me. So willingly my habite doth now begin to apply it selfe to evill: *In fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est:* "All offences is yrkesome to a crazed body." CIC. *De Sene.*

Mensque, pati durum sustinet ægra nihil. OVID. *Pont.* I. i. *El.* vi. 18.
A sicke minde can endure,
No hard thing for hir cure.

I have ever beene ticklish and nice in

matters of offence, at this present I am more tender, and every where open.

OVID. *Trist.* l. iii. *El.* xi. 22.

Et minimæ vires frangere quassa valent.
Least strength can breake,
Things worne and weake.

Well may my judgement hinder mee from spurning and repining at the inconveniences which nature allots mee to indure; from feeling them it cannot. I could finde in my heart to runne from one ende of the world to another, to searche and purchase one yeare of pleasing and absolute tranquillity; I who have no other scope, then to live and be mery. Drouzie and stupide tranquillitie is sufficiently to bee found for me, but it makes me drouzie and dizzie; therefore I am not pleased with it. If there bee any body, or any good company in the cuntrie, in the cittie, in France, or any where els, resident travelling, that likes of my conceites, or whose humoures are pleasing to mee, they neede but holde up their hand, or whistle in their fiste, and I will store them with Essayes, of pithe and

substance, with might and maine. Seeing it is the mindes priviledge to renew and recover it selfe on olde age, I earnestly advise it to doe it: let it bud, blossome, and flourish if it can, as Misle-toe on a dead tree. I feare it is a traitor; so straightly is she clasped, and so hard doth she cling to my body, that every hand while she forsakes me; to follow hir in hir necessities. I flatter hir in private, I urge hir to no purpose; in vaine I offer to divert hir from this combination, and bootlesse it is for me to present hir Seneca or Catullus, or Ladies, or stately dances; if hir companion have the chollicke, it seemes she also hath it. The very powers or faculties that are particulare and proper to hir, cannot then rouze themselves: they evidently seeme to be en-rheumed: there is no blithenesse in hir productions, if there be none in the body. Our schollers are to blame, who searching the causes of our mindes extraordinary fits and motions, besides they ascribe some to a divine fury, to love, to warre-like fiercenesse, to Poesie, and to Wine; if they have not also allotted

health her share. A health youthfull, lustie, vigorous, full, idle, such as heretofore the Aprill of my yeares and security offorded mee by fittes. That fire of jocondnesse stirreth up lively and bright sparckles in our minde, beyond our naturall brightnesse and amongst the most working, if not the most desperate Enthusiasmes or inspirasions. Well, it is no wonder if a contrary estate clogge and naile my spirite, and drawe from it a contrary effect.

COR. GAL. *El.* i. 125.

Ad nullum consurgit opus, cum corpore languet,
It to no worke doth rise,
When body fainting lyes.

And yet would have me beholden to him, for lending (as he sayth) much lesse to this consent, then beareth the ordinary custome of men. Let us at least whilste we have truce, chase all evils, and expell all difficulties from our societie.

HOR. *Epod.* 13, 7.

Dum licet obducta solvatur fronte senectus :
With wrinckled wimpled forhead let old yeares,
While we may, be rosolv'd to merie cheeres.

Tetrica sunt amœnanda jocularibus: "Unpleasant things, and sowre matters should be sweetned and made pleasant with sporte-full mixtures." I love a lightsome and civill discretion, and loathe a roughnesse and austeritie of behaviour: suspecting every peevish and wayward countenance.

Tristemque, vultus tetrici arrogantiam.
Of austere countenance,
The sad soure arrogance.
MART. l. vii. *Epig.* lvii. 9.

Et habet tristis quoque turba cynœdos.
Fidlers are often had,
Mongst people that are sad.

I easily beleeve Plato, who saieth, that easie or hard humoures, are a great prejudice unto the mindes goodnesse or badnesse. Socrates had a constant countenance, but light-some and smyling: not frowardly constant, as olde Crassus, who was never seene to laugh. Vertue is a pleasant and buxom qualitie. Few, I know will snarle at the liberty of my writings, that have not more cause to snarle at their thoughts-loosenes. I conforme my selfe unto their courage, but I offend their eyes. It

is a well ordered humour to wrest Platos writings, and straine his pretended negotiations with Phedon, Dion, Stella, Archeanassa. *Non pudeat dicere, quod non pudeat sentire:* "Let us not bee ashamed to speake, what wee shame not to thinke." I hate a wayward and sad disposition, that glideth over the pleasures of his life, and fastens and feedes on miseries; as flyes that cannot cleave to smooth and sleeke bodies, but seaze and holde on rugged and uneven places. Or as Cupping-glasses, that affect and suck none but the worst bloud. For my part I am resolved to dare speake whatsoever I dare doe: And am displeased with thoughts not to be published. The worst of my actions or condicions seeme not so ugly unto me, as I finde it both ugly and base not to dare to avouch them. Every one is wary in the confession; we should be as heedy in the action. The bouldnesse offending is somewhat recompensed and restrained by the bouldnesse of confessing. He that should be bound to tell all, should also bind him to doe nothing which one

is forced to conceale. God graunt this excesse of my licence drawe men to freedome, beyond these cowardly and squeamish vertues, sprung from our imperfections; and that by the expence of my immoderation, I may reduce them unto reason. One must survay his faultes and study them, ere he be able to repeat them. Those which hide them from others, commonly conceale them also from themselves; and esteeme them not sufficiently hidden, if themselves see them. They withdraw and disguise them from their owne consciences. *Quare vicia confitetur? Quia etiam nunc in illis est, somnium narrare vigilantis est:* "Why doth noe man confesse his faults? Because hee is yet in them; and to declare his dreame, is for him that is waking." The bodies evils are discerned by their increase. And now we finde that to be the gout which we termed the rheume or a bruse. The evils of the minde are darkened by their owne force; the most infected feeleth them least. Therfore is it, that they must often a day

SEN. *Ep.* 53. m.

be handled, and violently be opened and rent from out the hollow of our bosome. As in the case of good ; so of bad offices, onely confession is sometimes a satisfaction. Is there any deformitie in the error, which dispenseth us to confesse the same? It is a paine for mee to dissemble : so that I refuse to take charge of other mens secrets, as wanting hart to disavow my knowledge. I can conceale it ; but deny it I cannot, without much a do and some trouble. To be perfectly secret, one must be so by nature ; not by obligation. It is a smal matter to be secret in the Princes service, if one be not also a liar. He that demanded Thales Milesius, whether he should solemnly deny his lechery ; had he come to me, I would have answered him, he ought not do it : for a lie is in mine opinion, worse then lechery. Thales advised him otherwise, bidding him sweare, therby to warrant the more by the lesse. Yet was not his counsell so much the election, as multiplication of vice. Whereupon we sometimes use this by-word, that we deale well with a man

of conscience, when in counterpoise of vice we propose some difficulty unto him? but when he is inclosed betweene two vices, he is put to a hard choise. As Origen was dealt withal, either to commit idolatry, or suffer himself to be Sodomaticaly abused by a filthy Egiptian slave, that was presented unto him; he yeilded to the first condition, and viciously, saith one. Therfore should not those women be distasted, according to their error, who of late protest, that they had rather charge their conscience with ten men, then one Masse. If it bee indiscretion so to divulge ones errors, ther is no danger though it come into example and use, for Ariston said, that the winds men feare most, are those which discover them. We must tuck up this homely rag, that cloaketh our maners. They send their conscience to the stewes, and keep their countenance in order. Even traitors and murtherers observe the lawes of complements, and therto fixe their endevors. So that neither can injustice complaine of incivility, nor malice of indiscretion. Tis

pitty a bad man is not also a foole, and that decency should cloake his vice. These pargettings belong only to good and sound wals, such as deserve to bee whited, to bee preserved. In favor of Hugonots, who accuse our auricular and private confession, I confesse my selfe in publike; religiously and purely. Saint Augustine, Origene, and Hippocrates, have published their errors of their opinions; I likewise of my maners. I greedily long to make my selfe known; nor care I at what rate, so it be truly: or to say better, I hunger for nothing; but I hate mortally to be mistaken by such as shall happen to know my name. He that doth all for honour and glory, what thinks he to gaine by presenting himselfe to the world in a maske, hiding his true being from the peoples knowledge? Commend a crook-back for his comely stature, hee ought to take it as an injury: if you be a coward, and one honoreth you for a valiant man, is it of you he speaketh? you are taken for another: I should like as well, to have him glory in the courtsies and lowtings that are

shewed him, supposing himselfe to be ring-leader of a troupe when he is the meanest folower of it. Archelaus King of Macedon, passing throgh a street, some body cast water upon him, was advised by his followers to punish the party: "Yea but" (quoth he) "who ever it was, he cast not the water upon me, but upon him he thought I was." Socrates to one that told him he was railed upon and ill spoken of: "Tush" (said he) "there is noe such thing in me." For my part, should one commend me to be an excellent Pilote, to be very modest, or most chaste, I should owe him no thankes. Likewise should any man call mee traitour, theefe or drunkard, I would deeme my selfe but little wronged by him. Those who misknow themselves, may feed themselves with false approbations; but not I, who see and search my selfe into my very bowels, and know full well what belongs unto me. I am pleased to be lesse commended, provided I be better knowne. I may be esteemed wise for such conditions of wisedome, that I account meere follies.

It vexeth me, that my Essayes serve Ladies in liew of common ware and stuffe for their hall: this Chapter will preferre me to their cabinet: I love their societie somewhat private; their publike familiaritie wants favor and savor. In farewels we heate above ordinary our affections to the things we forgoe. I heere take my last leave of this worlds pleasures: loe heere our last embraces. And now to our theame. Why was the acte of generation made so naturall, so necessary and so just, seeing we feare to speake of it without shame, and exclude it from our serious and regular discourses we pronounce boldly, to rob, to murther, to betray; and this we dare not but betweene our teeth. Are we to gather by it, that the lesse wee breath out in words the more we are allowed to furnish our thoughtes with? For words least used least writen and least concealed should best be understood, and most generally knowne. No age, no condition are more ignorant of it, then of their bread. They are imprinted in each one, without ex-

pressing, without voice or figure. And the sexe that doth it most, is most bound to suppresse it. It is an action we have put in the precincts of silence, whence to draw it were an offence: not to accuse or judge it. Nor dare we beate it but in circumlocution and picture. A notable favor, to a criminall offender, to be so execrable, that justice deeme it injustice to touch and behold him, freed and saved by the benefit of this condemnations severity. Is it not herein as in matters of bookes, which being once called-in and forbidden become more saleable and publike? As for me, I will take Aristotle at his word, that bashfulnesse is an ornament to youth, but a reproach to age. These verses are preached in the old schoole; a schoole of which I hold more then of the moderne: her vertues seeme greater unto me, her vices lesse.

Ceux qui par trop fuiant Venus estrivent
Failent autant que ceux qui trop la suivent.

Who strives ore much Venus to shunne, offends
Alike with him, that wholy hir intends,

LUCR. l. i. 22.

Tu dea, tu rerum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque fit lætum, nec amabile quicquam,

Goddesse, thou rul'st the nature of all things.
Without thee nothing into this light springs.
Nothing is lovely, nothing pleasures brings.

I know not who could set Pallas and the Muses at oddes with Venus, and make them colde and slowe in affecting of love; as for me, I see no Deities that better sute together, nor more endebted one to another. Who-ever shall goe about to remoove amorous imaginations from the Muses, shall deprive them of the best entertainement they have, and of the noblest subject of their worke: and who shall debarre Cupid the service and conversation of Poesie, shall weaken him of his best weapons. By this meanes they caste upon the God of acquaintance, of amitie and goodwil; and upon the Goddesses, protectresses of humanitie, and justice, the vice of ingratitude, and imputation of churlishnesse. I have not so long beene cashiered from the state and service of this

God, but that my memorie is still acquainted with the force of his worth and valour.

——— *agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ.* VIRG. *Æn.* 1. iv. 23.
I feele and feeling know,
How my old flames regrow.

There commonly remaine some reliques of shivering and heate after an ague,

Nec mihi deficiat calor hic, hyemantibus annis.
When Winter yeares com-on,
Let not this heate be gon.

As drie, as sluggish and as unwieldie as I am, I feele yet some warme cinders of my passed heate.

Qual' l'alto Ægeo perche Aquiloneo Noto
Cessi che tutto prima il volse et scosse,
Non s'accheta ei peró, ma il suono e'l moto,
Ritien delionde anco agitate et grosse.
As graund Ægean Sea, because the voice
Of windes doth cease, which it before enraged,
Yet doth not calme, but stil retaines the noise
And motion of huge billowes unaswaged.

But for so much as I know of it, the power and might of this God, are found

more quicke and lively in the shadowe of the Poesie, then in their owne essence.

JUVEN. *Sat.* vi. 197.

Et versus digitos habet.
Verses have full effect,
Of fingers to erect.

It representeth a kinde of ayre more lovely then love it selfe. Venus is not so faire, nor so alluring all naked, quick and panting, as she is here in Virgill.

VIRG. *Æn.* 1. viii. 387.

Dixerat, et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
Cunctantem amplexu molli fovet : Ille repente
Accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
Intravit calor, et labefacta per ossa cucurrit.
Non secus atque olim tonitru cùm rupta corusco,
Ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.

So said the Goddesse, and with soft embrace,
Of Snow-white arme, the grim-fire doth enchase,
He straight tooke wonted fire, knowne heate at once,
His marrow pearc't, ranne through his weakned bones ;
As firie flash with thunder doth divide,
With radiant lightning through a storme doth glide.

Ib. 404.

——— *ea verba loquutus,*
Optatos dedit amplexus, placidumque petivit.
Conjugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.

A sweete embrace, when he those words had said
He gave, and his limmes pleasing-rest he praid
To take in his wives bosome lolling-laide.

What therein I finde to be considered, is, that he depainteth hir somewhat stirring for a maritall Venus. In this discreete match, appetites are not commonly so fondling; but drowsie and more sluggish. Love disdaineth a man should holde of other then himselfe, and dealeth but faintly with acquaintances begun and entertained under another title; as mariage is. Alliances, respects and meanes, by all reason, waigh as much or more, as the grace and beauty. A man doth not mary for himselfe, whatsoever he allegeth; but as much or more for his posteritie and familie. The use and interest of mariage concerneth our off-spring, a great way beyond us. Therefore doth this fashion please me, to guide it rather by a third hand, and by anothers sence, then our owne: All which, how much doth it dissent from amorous conventions? Nor is it other then a kinde of incest, in this reverend alliance and sacred

bonde, to employ the efforts and extravagant humor of an amorous licentiousnes, as I thinke to have said else-where. One should (saith Aristotle) touch his wife soberlie, discreetly and severely, least that tickling too lasciviously, pleasure transport her beyond the bounds of reason. What he speaketh for conscience, Phisitions alledge for health: saying that pleasure excessively whotte, voluptuous and continuall, altereth the seede, and hindereth conception. Some other say besides, that to a languishing congression (as naturally that is) to store it with a convenient, and fertile heat, one must but seldome, and by moderate intermissions present himselfe unto it.

VIRG. *Geor.* l. iii. 137. *Quo rapiet sitiens venerem interjusque recondat.*
Thirsting to snatch a fit,
And inly harbor it.

I see no mariages faile sooner, or more troubled, then such as are concluded for beauties sake, and hudled up for amorous desires. There are required more solide foundations, and more constant grounds,

and a more warie marching to it; this earnest youthly heate serveth to no purpose. Those who thinke to honour marriage, by joyning love unto it (in mine opinion) doe as those, who to doe vertue a favour, holde, that Nobilitie is noe other thing then Vertue. Indeed these things have some affinitie; but therewithall great difference: their names and titles should not thus be commixt: both are wronged so to bee confounded. Nobilitie is a worthy, goodly qualitie, and introduced with good reason; but in as much as it dependeth on others, and may fall to the share of a vicious and worthlesse fellowe, it is in my estimation farre shorte of vertue. If it be a vertue, it is artificiall and visible; relying both on time and fortune; divers in forme, according unto countries; living and mortall; without birth, as the river Nilus genealogicall and common; by succession and similitude; drawne along by consequence, but a very weake one. Knowledge, strength, goodnesse, beautie, wealth and all other qualities fall within compasse of

commerce and communication: whereas this consumeth it selfe in it selfe, of no employment for the service of others. One proposed to one of our Kinges the choise of two competitors in one office, the one a Gentleman, the other a Yeoman: hee appointed that without respect unto that qualitie, hee who deserved best should be elected; but were their valour or worth fully a-like, the Gentleman should be regarded: this was justlie to give nobilitie hir right and ranke. Antigonus, to an unknowne young-man, who sued unto him for his fathers charge, a man of valour and who was lately deceased: "My friend" (quoth hee) "in such good turnes, I waigh not my souldiers noble birth, so much as their sufficiencie." Of truth it should not be herein, as with the officers of Spartan kings; Trumpetors, Musitions, Cookes, in whose roome their children succeded, how ignorant soever, before the best experienced in the trade. Those of Calicut make of their nobility a degree above humane. Marriage is interdicted

them, and all other vocations, saving warre. Of Concubines they may have as many as they list, and women as many lechardes, without jealousie one of another. But it is a capitall crime, and unremissible offence to contract or marry with any of different condition: Nay they deeme themselves disparaged and polluted, if they have but touched them in passing by. And as if their honour were much injuried and interressed by it, they kil those who but approach some what to neare them. In such sort, that the ignoble are bound to cry as they walke along, like the Gondoliers or Water-men of Venice along the streetes, least they should justle with them: and the nobles command them to what side of the way they please. Thereby doe these avoyde an obloquie which they esteeme perpetuall; and those an assured death. No continuance of time, no favour of Prince, no office, no vertue, nor any wealth can make a clowne to become a gentleman. Which is much furthered by this custome, that mariages of one trade with another

are stricktlie for bidden. A Shoo-maker cannot marry with the race of a Carpenter; and parents are precisely bounde to traine up orphanes in their fathers trade, and in no other. Whereby the difference, the distinction and continuance, of their fortune is maintained. A good marriage (if any there be) refuseth the company and conditions of love; it endevoureth to present those of amity. It is a sweete society of life, full of constancie, of trust, and an infinite number of profitable and solid offices, and mutuall obligations: No woman that throughly and impartially tasteth the same,

CATUL. *Com. Ber.* lxxix.

(*Optato quam junxit lumine tæda*
Whom loves-fire joyned in double band,
With wished light of marriage brand)

would forgoe her estate to bee her husbands master. Be she lodged in his affection, as a wife, she is much more honourably and surely lodged. Be a man passionately entangled in any unlawful lust or love, let him then be demanded on whom he would rather have some shame or disgrace to

alight; eyther on his lawfull wife, or on his lechard mistris whose misfortune would afflict him most, and to whom hee wisheth greater good or more honour. These questions admit no doubt in an absolute sound marriage. The reason we see so few good is an apparent signe of it's worth, and a testimony of it's price. Perfectly to fashion and rightly to take it, is the worthiest and best part of our society. We cannot be without it, and yet wee disgrace and vilifie the same. It may bee compared to a cage, the birdes without dispaire to get in, and those within dispaire to get out. Socrates being demanded, whether was most commodious, to take, or not to take a wife; "Which soever a man doth" (quoth he) "he shall repent it." It is a match wherto may well be applied the common saying, *Homo homini aut Deus aut Lupus:* "Man unto man is either a God or a Wolfe," to the perfect erecting wereof are the concurrences of divers qualities required: It is now a dayes found most fit or commodious for simple mindes and popular spirits whom

ERAS. *Chil.* 1. cent. clxix. 70.

dainties, curiosity and idlenesse doe not so much trouble. Licentious humours, debaushed conceits (as are mine) who hate all manner of duties, bondes, or observances are not so fit, so proper, and so sutable for it.

COR. GAL. *El.* i. 61.

Et mihi dulce magis resoluto vivere collo.
Sweeter it is to me, with loose necke to live free.

Of mine owne disposition, would wisedoome it selfe have had me, I should have refused to wed her. But we may say our pleasure; the custome and use of common life over beareth us. Most of my actions are guided by example, and not by election: Yet did I not properly envite my selfe unto it, I was led and brought thereunto by strange and unexpected occasions: For, not onely incommodious things, but foule, vicious and inevitable, may by some condition and accident become acceptable and allowed. So vaine is mans posture and defence. And truely I was then drawne unto it, being but ill prepared and more backeward, then now I am that have

made triall of it. And as licentious as the world reputes mee, I have (in good truth) more stricktly observed the lawes of wedlock, then either I had promised or hoped. It is no longer time to wince when one hath put on the shackles. A man ought wisely to husband his liberty; but after he hath once submitted himselfe unto bondage, he is to stick unto it by the lawes of common duty or at least enforce himselfe to keepe them. Those which undertake that covenant to deale therein with hate and contempt, doe both injustly and incommodiously. And that goodly rule I see passe from hand to hand among women, as a sacred Oracle,

Sers ton mary comme maistre :
Et t'en garde comme d'un traistre.

Your husband as your master serve-yee :
From him as from false friend preserve-yee,

which is as much to say; Beare thy selfe toward him with a constrained, enemy and distrustfull reverence (a stile of warre, and cry of defiance) is likewise injurious and

difficult. I am to milde for such crabbed dissignes. To say truth, I am not yet come to that perfection of sufficiency and quaintnesse of wit, as to confound reason with injustice: and laugh or scoffe at each order or rule, that jumps not with my humour. To hate superstition, I doe not presently cast my selfe into irreligion. If one doe not alwaies discharge his duety, yet ought he at least ever love, ever acknowledge it: It is treason for one to marry unlesse he wed. But goe we on. Our Poet describeth a marriage full of accord and good agreement, wherein notwithstanding there is not much loyaltie. Did he meane it was not possible to performe loves rights, and yet reserve some rightes toward marriage; and that one may bruse it, without altogether breaking it? A servant may picke his masters purse, and yet not hate him. Beautie, opportunitie, destinie, (for destinie hath also a hand therein)

JUVEN. Sat. ix. 32.

——*fatum est in partibus illis.*
Quas sinus abscondit; nam si tibi sidera cassent,
Nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi.

In those parts there is fate, which hidden are ;
If then thou be not wrought-for by thy starre,
The measure of long nerves, unknowne to nothing serves.

have entangled a woman to a stranger, yet peradventure not so absolutely but that some bond may bee left to hold her to her husband. They are two dissignes, having severall and unconfounded pathes leading to them. A woman may yeeld to such a man, whom in no case she would have married. I meane not for the conditions of his fortune, but for the qualities of his person. Few men have wedded their sweet hearts, their paramours or mistresses, but have come home by weeping Crosse, and ere long repented their bargaine. And even in the other world, what an unquiet life leades Jupiter with his wife, whom before hee had secretly knowen, and lovingly enjoied? This is as they say, to "beray the panier, and then put it on your head." My selfe have seene in some good place, love, shamefully and dishonestly cured by marriage: the considerations are to much

different. Wee love without disturbance to our selves; two divers and in themselves contrary things. Isocrates said, that the towne of Athens pleased men, even as Ladies doe whom wee serve for affection. Every one loved to come thither, to walke and passe away the time: but none affected to wed it: that is to say, to endenison, to dwell and habituate himselfe therein. I have (and that to my spight and griefe) seene husbands hate their wives, onely because themselves wronged them: Howsoever, wee should not love them lesse for our faults; at least for repentance and compassion they ought to be dearer unto us. These are different ends (saith hee) and yet in some sort compatible. Wedlocke hath for his share honour, justice, profit and constancie: a plaine, but more generall delight. Love melts in onely pleasure; and truly it hath it more ticklish, more lively, more quaint, and more sharpe: a pleasure inflamed by difficulty: there must be a kinde of stinging, tingling and smarting. It is no longer love, be it once without

Arrowes, or without fire. The liberality of Ladies is to profuse in marriage, and blunts the edge of affection and desire. To avoide this inconvenience, see the punishment inflicted by the lawes of Lycurgus and Plato. But Women are not altogether in the wrong, when they refuse the rules of life prescribed to the World, forsomuch as onely men have established them without their consent. There is commonly brauling and contention betweene them and us. And the nearest consent wee have with them, is but stormy and tumultuous. In the opinion of our Authour, we heerin use them but inconsiderately. After wee have knowen, that without comparison they are much more capable and violent in Loves-effectes than wee, as was testified by that ancient Priest, who had beene both man and woman, and tried the passions of both sexes.

Venus huic erat utraque nota :
Of both sortes he knew venery.

OVID. *Meta.* l. iii. 323. Tiros.

We have moreover learned by their owne

mouth, what tryall was made of it, though in divers ages, by an Emperour and an Empresse of Rome, both skilfull and famous masters in lawlesse lust and unrulye wantonnesse; for hee in one night deflowred ten Sarmatian virgines, that were his captives; but shee realy did in one night also, answere five and twenty severall assaults, changing her assailants as she found cause to supplye her neede, or fitte her taste,

JUVEN. *Sat.* vi. 127.

——— *adhuc ardens rigidæ tentigine vulvæ*
El lassata viris, non dum satiata recessit.

and that upon the controversie happened in Catalogne, betweene a wife and a husband; shee complaining on his over violence and continuance therein (not so much in my conceite), because she was thereby overlabored (for but by faith I beleeve not miracles) as under this pretext, to abridge and bridle the autority of husbands over their wives, which is the fundamental part of marriage: And to shew that their frouning, sullennesse and peevishnesse exceede

the very nuptial bed, and trample underfoote the very beauties, graces and delightes of Venus ; (to whose complaint her husband, a right churlish and rude fellow answered, that even on fasting dayes he must needes do it ten times at least) was by the Queene of Aragon given this notable sentence : by which after mature deliberation of counsel, the good Queen, to establish a rule and imitable example unto al posterity, for the moderation and required modesty in a lawfull marriage, ordained the number of sixe times a day, as a lawfull, necessary and competent limit. Releasing and diminishing a great part of her sexes neede and desire : to establish (quoth she) an easie forme, and consequently permanent and immutable. Hereupon doctors cry out ; what is the appetite and lust of women, when as their reason, their reformation and their vertue, is retailed at such a rate ? considering the divers judgement of our desires : for Solon master of the lawiers schoole alloweth but three times a moneth, because this matrimoniall entercourse should not

decay or faile. Now after we beleeved (say I) and preached thus much, we have for their particular portion allotted them continencie ; as their last and extreame penalty. There is no passion more importunate then this, which we would have them only to resist : Not simply, as a vice in it self, but as abhomination and execration, and more then irreligion and parricide ; whilst wee our selves without blame or reproach offend in it at our pleasure. Even those amongst us, who have earnestly labored to overcome lust, have sufficiently vowed, what difficulty, or rather unresistable impossibility they found in it, using nevertheles material remedies, to tame, to weaken and coole the body. And we on the other side would have them sound, healthy, strong, in good liking, wel-fed and chaste together, that is to say, both hotte and colde. For marriage which we averre should hinder them from burning, affords them but small refreshing, according as our manners are. If they meete with a husband, whose force by reason of his age is yet

boyling, he will take a pride to spend it else-where :

Sit tandem pudor, aut eamus in jus
Multis mentula millibus redempta,
Non est hæc tua, Basse, vendidisti.

MART. l. xii. *Epig.* xcix. 10.

The Philosopher Polemon was justly called in question by his wife, for sowing in a barren fielde the fruite due to the fertile. But if they match with broken stuffe in ful wedlocke, they are in worse case then either virgines or widowes. Wee deeme them sufficiently furnished, if they have a man lie by them. As the Romans reputed Clodia Læta a vestall virgine defloured, whom Caligula had touched, although it was manifestly prooved hee had but approached her : But on the contrary, their neede or longing is thereby encreased ; for but the touch or company of any man whatsoever stirreth up their heate, which in their solytude was husht and quiet, and laye as cinders raked up in ashes. And to the ende, as it is likely, to make by this circumstance and consideration their chas-

titie more meritorious: Bòleslaus and Kingè his wife, King and Queene of Poland, lying together, the first day of their mariage vowed it with mutuall consent, and in despight of all wedlocke commoditie of nuptiall-delightes maintained the same. Even from their infancie wee frame them to the sportes of love: their instruction, behaviour, attire, grace, learning and all their words aimeth onely at love, respects, onely affection. Their nurces and their keepers imprint no other thing in them, then the lovelinesse of love, were it but by continually presenting the same unto them, to distaste them of it: My daughter (all the children I have) is of the age wherein the lawes excuse the forwardest to marry. She is of a slowe, nice and milde complexion, and hath accordingly beene brought up by hir mother, in a retired and particular manner: so that shee beginneth but now to put-off childish simplicitie. She was one day reading a French booke before mee, an obscene word came in hir way (more bawdie in sound then in effect, it signifieth the

name of a Tree and another thing) the woman that lookes to hir, staid hir presently, and somwhat churlishly making hir step over the same: I let hir alone, because I would not crosse their rules, for I medle nothing with this government; womens policie hath a misticall proceeding, wee must be content to leave it to them. But if I bee not deceived, the conversation of twenty laqueis could not in six moneths have setled in hir thoughts, the understanding, the use and consequences of the sound belonging to those filthy silables, as did that good olde woman by hir checke and interdiction.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus
Jam nunc, et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui.

HOR. *Car.* 1. iii. *Od.* vi. 21.

Maides marriage-ripe straight to be taught delight
Ionique daunces, fram'de by arte aright
In every joynt, and ev'n from their first haire
Incestuous loves in meditation beare.

Let them somwhat dispence with ceremonies, let them fall into free libertie of

speach ; wee are but children, wee are but gulles, in respect of them, about any such subject. Heare them relate how wee sue, how we wooe, how we sollicite and how we entertaine them, they will soone give you to understand, that wee can say, that we can doe, and that we can bring them nothing, but what they already knew, and had long before disgested without us. May it be (as Plato saith) because they have one time or other beene themselves wanton, licentious and amorous lads? Mine eares hapned one day in a place, where without suspicion they might listen and steale some of their private, lavish and bould discourses ; oh why is it not lawfull for me to repeate them? Birlady (quoth I to my selfe) it is high time indeede for us to goe studie the phrases of Amadis, the metaphors of Aretine, and eloquence of Boccace, thereby to become more skilfull, more ready and more sufficient to confront them: surely we bestowe our time well ; there is nor quaint phrase, nor choise worde, nor ambiguous figure, nor patheticall example, nor love-

expressing gesture, nor alluring posture, but they knowe them all better then our bookes: It is a cunning bred in their vaines and will never out of the flesh,

Et mentem Venus ipsa dedit. VIRG. *Geor.* I. iii. 267.
Venus hir selfe assign'de,
To them both meanes and minde,

which these skill infusing Schoole-mistrisses nature, youth, health and opportunitie, are ever buzzing in their eares, ever whispering in their mindes: They neede not learne, nor take paines about it; they beget it; with them it is borne.

Nec tantum niveo gavisa est nulla columbo CATUL. *Eleg.* IV. 125.
Compar, vel si quid dicitur improbius,
Oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro:
Quantum præcipuè multivola est mulier.
No pigeons hen, or paire, or what worse name
You list, makes with hir Snow-white cock such game,
With biting bill to catch when she is kist,
As many-minded women when they list.

Had not this naturall violence of their desires beene somwhat held in awe, by feare

and honor, wherewith they have beene provided we had all beene defamed. All the worlds motions bend and yeelde to this conjunction: it is a matter every-where infused; and a Centre whereto all lines come, all things looke. The ordinances of ancient and wise Rome, ordained for the service and instituted for the behoofe of love, are yet to be seene: together with the precepts of Socrates to instruct courtizans.

HOR. *Epod.* viii. 15.

Nec non libelli Stoici inter sericos
Jacere pulvillos amant
Ev'n Stoicks bookes are pleas'd
Amidst silke cushions to be eas'd.

Zeno among other lawes, ordered also the struglings, the opening of legges, and the actions, which happen in the deflowring of a virgin. Of what sence was the booke of Strato the Philosopher, of carnall copulation? And whereof treated Theophrastus in those he entitled, one "The Lover," the other, "Of Love"? Whereof Aristippus in his volume "Of ancient deliciousnesse or sports"? What implied or what imported

the ample and lively descriptions in Plato, of the loves practised in his daies? And the lover of Demetrius Phalereus? And Clinias, or the forced lover of Heraclides Ponticus? And that of Antisthenes, of the getting of children, or of weddings? And the other, Of the Master or of the lover? And that of Aristo, Of amorous exercises? Of Cleanthes, one of love, another of the Art of love? The amorous dialogues of Spherus? And the filthy intolerable, and without blushing not to be uttered fable of Jupiter and Juno, written by Chrysippus? And his so lascivious fifty Epistles? I will omit the writings of some Philosophers, who have followed the sect of Epicurus, protectresse of all maner of sensualitie and carnall pleasure. Fifty several Deities were in times past allotted to this office. And there hath beene a nation found, which to allay and coole the lustfull concupiscence of such as came for devotion, kept wenches of purpose in their temples to be used; and it was a point of religion to deale with them before one went to praiers. *Nimirum prop-*

ter continentiam incontinentia necessaria est, incendium ignibus extinguitur : "Belike we must be incontinent that we may be continent, burning is quenched by fire." In most places of the world, that part of our body was Deified. In that same province, some flead it to offer, and consecrated a peece thereof; others offred and consecrated their seed. In another the young-men did publikely pierce, and in divers places open their yard between flesh and skin, and thorow the holes put the longest and biggest stickes they could endure, and of those sticks made afterward a fire, for an offring to their Gods, and were esteemed of small vigour and lesse chastitie, if by the force of that cruell paine they shewed any dismay. Else-where, the most sacred magistrate was reverenced and acknowledged by those parts. And in divers ceremonies the portraiture thereof was carried and shewed in pompe and state, to the honour of sundry Deities. The Ægyptian Dames in their Bacchanalian feasts wore a wodden one about their necks, exquisitly fashioned,

as huge and heavie as every one could conveniently beare: besides that which the statue of their God represented, which in measure exceeded the rest of his body. The maried women heere-by, with their Coverchefs frame the figure of one upon their forheads; to glory themselves with the enjoying they have of it; and comming to bee widowes, they place it behinde, and hide it under their quoifes. The greatest and wisest matrons of Rome, were honoured for offring flowers and garlands to God Priapus. And when their Virgins were maried, they (during the nuptials) were made to sit upon their privities. Nor am I sure, whether in my time, I have not seene a glimps of like devotion. What meant that laughter-mooving, and maids looke-drawing peece our Fathers wore in their breeches, yet extant among the Switzers? To what end is at this present day the shew of our formall peeces under our Gascoine hoses? And often (which is worse) above their naturall greatnesse, by falshood and imposture? A little thing would make me

beleeve, that the said kinde of garment was invented in the best and most upright ages, that the world might not be deceived, and all men should yeeld a publike account of their sufficiencie. The simplest nations have it yet somewhat resembling the true forme. Then was the worke-mans skill instructed, how it is to bee made, by the measure of the arme or foot. That good-meaning man, who in my youth, thorowout his great citie, caused so many faire, curious and ancient statues to bee guelded, lest the sense of seeing might bee corrupted, following the advice of that other good ancient man ;

CIC. *Tusc.* l. iv. En.

Flagitii principium est nudare inter cives corpora :
Mongst civill people sinne,
By baring bodies we beginne,

should have considered, how in the mysteries of the good Goddesse, all apparance of man was excluded ; that he was no whit neerer, if he did not also procure both horses and asses, and at length nature her selfe to be guelded.

Omne adeo genus interris, hominumque, ferarumque,
Et genus æquoreum, pecudes, pictæque volucres,
In furias ignemque ruunt.

VIRG. *Georg.* l. iii. 244.

All kindes of things on earth, wilde beasts, mankinde,
Field-beasts, faire-fethered fowle, and fish (we finde)
Into loves fire and fury run by kinde.

The Gods (saith Plato) have furnished man with a disobedient, skittish, and tyrannicall member ; which like an untamed furious-beast, attempteth by the violence of his appetite to bring all things under his becke. So have they allotted women another as insulting, wilde and fierce ; in nature like a greedie, devouring, and rebellious creature, who if when hee craveth it, hee bee refused nourishment, as impatient of delay, it enrageth ; and infusing that rage into their bodies, stoppeth their conduicts, hindreth their respiration, and causeth a thousand kindes of inconveniences ; untill sucking up the fruit of the generall thirst, it have largely bedewed and enseeded the bottome of their matrix. Now my lawgiver should also have considered, that

peradventure it were a more chaste and commodiously fruitfull use, betimes to give them a knowledge and taste of the quicke; then according to the liberty and heat of their fantasie, suffer them to ghesse and imagine the same. In lieu of true essentiall parts, they by desire surmise, and by hope substitute others, three times as extravagant. And one of my acquaintance was spoiled, by making open shew of his in place, where yet it was not convenient to put them in possession of their more serious use. What harme cause not those huge draughts or pictures, which wanton youth with chalke or coales draw in each passage, wall, or staires of our great houses? whence a cruell contempt of our naturall store is bred in them. Who knoweth, whether Plato ordaining amongst other well-instituted Common-wealths, that men and women, old and yoong, should in their exercises or Gymnastickes, present themselves naked one to the sight of another, aimed at that or no? The Indian women, who daily without interdiction view their men all

over, have at least wherewith to asswage and coole the sense of their seeing. And whatsoever the women of that great kingdome of Pegu say, who from their waste downward, have nothing to cover themselves but a single cloth slit before; and that so straight, that what nice modestie, or ceremonious decencie soever they seeme to affect, one may plainly at each step see what God hath sent them: that it is an invention or shift devised to draw men unto them, and with-draw them from other men or boies, to which unnaturall brutish sinne that nation is wholly addicted: it might be said, they lose more then they get: and that a full hunger is more vehement, then one which hath beene glutted, be it but by the eies. And Livia said, that to an honest woman, a naked man is no more then an Image. The Lacedemonian women, more virgin-wives, then are our maidens, saw every day the yoong men of their citie, naked at their exercises: themselves nothing precise to hide their thighes in walking, esteeming themselves (saith Plato) suffici-

ently cloathed with their vertue, without vardingall. But those, of whom S. Augustine speaketh, have attributed much to nakednesse, who made a question, whether women at the last day of judgement should rise againe in their proper sex, and not rather in ours, lest even then they tempt us in that holy state. In summe, we lure and every way flesh them: we uncessantly enflame and encite their imagination; and then we cry out, But oh, but oh the belly. Let us confesse the truth, there are few amongst us, that feare not more the shame they may have by their wives offences, then by their owne vices; or that cares not more (oh wondrous charity) for his wives, then his own conscience; or that had not rather be a theefe and church-robber, and have his wife a murderer and an heretike, then not more chaste then himselfe. Oh impious estimation of vices. Both wee and they are capable of a thousand more hurtfull and unnaturall corruptions, then is lust or lasciviousnesse. But we frame vices and waigh sinnes, not according to their

nature, but according to our interest; whereby they take so many different unequall formes. The severity of our lawes makes womens inclination to that vice, more violent and faulty, then it's condition beareth; and engageth it to worse proceedings then is their cause. They will readily offer rather to follow the practise of law, and plead at the barre for a fee, or goe to the warres for reputation, then in the midst of idlenesse and deliciousnesse be tied to keepe so hard a Sentinell, so dangerous a watch. See they not plainly, how there is neither Merchant, Lawyer, Souldier, or Church-man, but will leave his accounts, forsake his client, quit his glory and neglect his function, to follow this other businesse? And the burden-bearing porter, souterly cobler, and toilefull labourer, all harassed, all besmeared, and all bemoiled, through travell, labour and trudging, will forget all, to please himselfe with this pleasing sport.

Num tu quæ tenuit dives Achæmenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias opes,

HOR. *Car.* 1. ii. *Od.* xii. 21.

Permutare velis crine Liciniæ,
Plenas aut Arabum domos,
Dum fragrantia detorquet ad oscula
Cervicem, aut facili sævitia negat,
Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupet?

Would you exchange for your faire mistresse haire,
All that the rich Achæmenes did hold,
Or all that fertill Phrygias soile doth beare,
Or all th' Arabians store of spice and gold?
Whilst she to fragrant kisses turnes her head,
Or with a courteous coinesse them denies;
Which more then he that speeds she would have sped,
And which sometimes to snatch she formost hies?

I wot not whether Cæsars exploits, or Alexanders atchivements exceed in hardinesse the resolution of a beautious yoong woman, trained after our manner, in the open view and uncontrolled conversation of the world, sollicited and battered by so many contrary examples, exposed to a thousand assaults and continuall pursuits, and yet still holding her selfe good and unvanquished. There is no point of doing more thornie, nor more active, then this of not doing. I finde it easier, to

beare all ones life a combersome armour on his backe, then a maiden-head. And the vow of virginitie, is the noblest of all vowes, because the hardest. *Diaboli virtus in lumbis est* : "The divels master-point lies in our loines," saith S. Jerome. Surely we have resigned the most difficult and vigorous devoire of mankinde unto women, and quit them the glory of it, which might stead them as a singular motive to opinionate themselves therein : and serve them as a worthy subject to brave us, and trample under feet that vaine preheminence of valour and vertue wee pretend over them. They shall finde (if they but heed it) that they shall thereby not only be highly regarded, but also more beloved. A gallant undaunted spirit leaveth not his pursuits for a bare refusall ; so it bee a refusall of chastitie, and not of choise. Wee may sweare, threaten and wailingly complaine ; we lie, for we love them the better. There is no enticing lure to wisdome and secret modestie ; so it be not rude, churlish, and froward. It is blockishnesse and basenesse

HIERON.

to be obstinately wilfull against hatred and contempt: But against a vertuous and constant resolution, matched with an acknowledging minde, it is the exercise of a noble and generous minde. They may accept of our service unto a certaine measure, and make us honestly perceive how they disdaine us not: for, the law which enjoineth them to abhorre us, because we adore them; and hate us, forsomuch as we love them; is doubtlesse very cruell, were it but for it's difficultie. Why may they not listen to our offers, and not gainc-say our requests, so long as they containe themselves within the bounds of modestie? Wherefore should we imagine, they inwardly affect a freer meaning? A Queene of our time said wittily, that "to refuse mens kinde summons, is a testimonie of much weaknesse, and an accusing of ones owne facilitie: and that an unattempted Lady could not vaunt of her chastitie." Honours limits are not restrained so short; they may somewhat be slacked, and without offending somewhat dispensed withall. At

the end of his frontiers, there is left a free, indifferent, and newter space. He that could drive and force his mistresse into a corner, and reduce her into her fort, hath no great matter in him, if he be not content with his fortune. The price or honour of the conquest is rated by the difficultie. Will you know what impression your merits, your services and worth have made in her heart? Judge of it by her behaviour and disposition.

Some one may give more, that (all things considered, giveth not so much. The obligation of a benefit hath wholly reference unto the will of him that giveth: other circumstances which fall within the compasse of good-turnes, are dumbe, dead and casuall. That little she giveth may cost her more, then all her companion hath. If rarenesse be in any thing worthy estimation, it ought to be in this. Respect not how little it is, but how few have it to give. The value of money is changed according to the coine, stampe or marke of the place. Whatsoever the spight or in-

discretion of some, may upon the excesse of their discontentment, make them say; Vertue and truth doe ever recover their advantage. I have knowen some, whose reputation hath long time beene impeached by wrong, and interested by reproach, restored unto all mens good opinion and generall approbation, without care or Art, onely by their constancie; each repenting and denying what he formerly beleeved. From wenches somewhat suspected, they now hold the first ranke amongst honourable Ladies. Some told Plato, that all the world spake ill of him; "Let them say what they list" (quoth hee) "I will so live, that Ile make them recant and change their speeches." Besides the feare of God, and the reward of so rare a glory, which should incite them to preserve themselves, the corruption of our age enforceth them unto it: and were I in their clothes, there is nothing but I would rather doe, then commit my reputation into so dangerous hands. In my time, the pleasure of reportin and blabbing what one hath

done (a pleasure not much short of the act it selfe in sweetnesse) was only allowed to such as had some assured, trustie and singular friend; whereas now-a-daies, the ordinary entertainements and familiar discourses of meetings and at tables, are the boastings of favours received, graces obtained, and secret liberalities of Ladies. Verily it is too great an abjection, and argueth a basenesse of heart, so fiercely to suffer those tender, daintie, delicious joies, to bee persecuted, pelted, and foraged by persons so ungratefull, so undiscreet, and so giddy-headed. This our immoderate and lawlesse exasperation against this vice, proceedeth and is bred of jealousie; the most vaine and turbulent infirmitie that may afflict mans minde.

Quis vetat apposito lumen de lumine sumi?
Dent licet assiduè, nil tamen inde perit.
To borrow light of light, who would deny?
Though still they give, nothing is lost thereby.

OVID. *Art. Amand.* l. iii. 93.

That, and Envie her sister, are (in mine opinion) the fondest of the troupe. Of the

latter, I cannot say much ; a passion which how effectuall and powerfull soever they set foorth ; of her good favour she medleth not with me. As for the other, I know it only by sight. Beasts have some feeling of it. The shepherd Cratis being fallen in love with a shee Goat, her Bucke for jealousie beat out his braines as hee lay asleepe. Wee have raised to the highest straine the excesse of this moodie feaver, after the example of some barbarous nations : The best disciplined have therewith beene tainted, it is reason ; but not caried away by it :

Ense maritali nemo confossus adulter,
Purpureo stygias sanguine tinxit aquas.
With husbands sword yet no adultrer slaine,
With purple blood did Stygian waters staine.

Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompey, Anthonie, Cato, and divers other gallant men were Cuckolds, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it. There was in all that time but one gullish coxcombe Lepidus, that died with the anguish of it.

Ah tum te miserum malique fati,
Quem attractis pedibus patente porta,
Percurrent mugilesque raphanique.

CATUL. *Lyr. Epig.* xv. 17.

Ah thee then wretched, of accursed fate,
Whom Fish-wives, Redish-wives of base estate,
Shall scoffing over-runne in open gate.

And the God of our Poet, when he surprised one of his companions napping with his wife, was contented but to shame them :

Atque aliquis de iis non tristibus optat,
Sic fieri turpis.

OVID. *Met.* l. iv. 187.

Some of the merier Gods doth wish in heart,
To share their shame, of pleasure to take part.

And yet forbeareth not to be enflamed with the gentle dalliances, and amorous blandishments she offereth him, complaining that for so slight a matter he should distrust her to him deare-deare affection :

Quid causas petis ex alto ? fiducia cessit
Quo tibi Diva mei ?

VIRG. *Æn.* l. viii.395.

So farre why fetch you your pleas pedigree ?
Whither is fled the trust you had in mee ?

And which is more, she becomes a suiter to him in the behalfe of a bastard of hers,

VIRG. *Æn.* l. viii. 382.

Arma rogo genitrix nato.

A mother for a sonne, I crave,
An armor he of you may have.

Which is freely granted her: And Vulcan speakes honourably of Æneas:

Ibid. 441.

Arma acri facienda viro.

An armour must be hammered out,
For one of courage sterne and stout.

In truth with an humanitie, more then humane. And which excesse of goodnesse by my consent shall only be left to the Gods:

CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 141.

Nec divis homines componier æquum est.

Nor is it meet, that men with Gods
Should be compar'd, there is such ods.

As for the confusion of children, besides that the gravest law-makers appoint and affect it in their Common-wealths, it concerneth not women, with whom this passion is, I wot not how, in some sort better placed, fitter seated.

Ibid. 138.

Sæpe etiam Juno maxima cœlicolum
Conjugis inculpa flagravit quotidiana.

Ev'n Juno chiefe of Goddesses oft time,
Hath growne hot at her husbands daily crime.

When jealousie once seazeth on these silly, weake, and unresisting soules, t'is pitifull, to see, how cruelly it tormenteth, how insultingly it tyrannizeth them. It insinuateth it selfe under colour of friendship: but after it once possesseth them, the same causes which served for a ground of good-will, serve for the foundation of mortall hatred. Of all the mindes diseases, that is it, whereto most things serve for sustenance, and fewest for remedy. The vertue, courage, health, merit and reputation of their husbands, are the firebrands of their despight, and motives of their rage.

Nullæ sunt inimicitiæ nisi amoris acerbæ. PROP. 1. ii. *El.* viii. 3.
No enmities so bitter prove,
And sharpe, as those which spring of love.

This consuming feaver blemisheth and corrupteth all that otherwise is good and goodly in them. And how chaste or good a huswife soever a jealous woman is, there is no action of hers, but tasteth of sharpnesse and smaks of importunitie. It is a furious perturbation, a moodie agitation, which

throwes them into extremities altogether contrary to the cause. The successe of one Octavius in Rome was strange, who having laien with, and enjoied the love of Pontia Posthumia, increased his affection by enjoying her, and instantly sued to mary her; but being unable to perswade her, his extreme passionate love precipitated him into effects of a most cruell, mortall and inexorable hatred; whereupon he killed her. Likewise the ordinary Symptomes or passions of this other amorous disease, are intestine hates, slie Monopolies, close conspiracies:

VIRG. *Æn.* 1, v. 6.

Notumque, furens quid fœmina possit,
It is knowne what a woman may,
Whose raging passions have no stay.

And a raging spight, which so much the more fretteth it selfe, by being forced to excuse it selfe under pretence of good-will. Now the dutie of chastitie hath a large extension and farre-reaching compasse. Is it their will, we would have them to bridle? That's a part very pliable and active. It

is very nimble and quick-rolling to be staied. What? If dreames doe sometimes engage them so farre, as they cannot dissemble nor deny them; It lieth not in them (nor perhaps in chastitie it selfe, seeing she is a female) to shield themselves from concupiscence and avoid desiring. If only their will interesse and engage us, where and in what case are we? Imagine what great throng of men there would bee, in pursuit of this privilege, with winged-speed (though without eies and without tongue) to be conveied upon the point of every woman that would buy him. The Scythian women were wont to thrust out the eies of all their slaves and prisoners taken in warre, thereby to make more free and private use of them. Oh what a furious advantage is opportunitie! He that should demand of me, what the chiefe or first part in love is, I would answer, To know how to take fit time; even so the second, and likewise the third. It is a point which may doe all in all. I have often wanted fortune, but sometimes also

enterprise. God shield him from harme, that can yet mocke himselfe with it. In this age more rashnesse is required; which our youths excuse under colour of heat. But should our women looke neerer unto it, they might finde, how it rather proceedeth of contempt. I supersticiously feared to offend; and what I love, I willingly respect. Besides that, who depriveth this merchandize of reverence, defaceth all luster of it. I love that a man should therein somewhat play the childe, the dastard and the servant. If not altogether in this, yet in some other things I have some aires or motives of the sottish bashfulnesse, whereof Plutarch speaketh; and the course of my life hath diversly beene wounded and tainted by it: a qualitie very ill beseeming my universall forme. And what is there amongst us, but sedition and jarring? Mine eies be as tender to beare a refusall, as to refuse; and it doth so much trouble me to be troublesome to others, that where occasions force me or dutie compelleth me to trie the will of any one, be it in doubtfull

things, or of cost unto him, I doe it but faintly and much against my will: But if it be for mine owne private businesse (though Homer say most truly, that in an indigent or needy man, bashfulnesse is but a fond vertue) I commonly substitute a third party, who may blush in my roome: and direct them that employ mee, with like difficultie: so that it hath sometimes befallen me, to have the will to deny, when I had not power to refuse. It is then folly, to goe about to bridle women of a desire, so fervent and so naturall in them. And when I heare them bragge to have so virgin-like a will and cold minde, I but laugh and mocke at them. They recoile too farre backward. If it be a toothlesse beldame or decrepit grandame, or a yoong drie pthisicke starveling; if it be not altogether credible, they have at least some colour or apparance to say it. But those which stirre about, and have a little breath left them, marre but their market with such stuffe: forsomuch as inconsiderate excuses are no better then accusations.

As a Gentleman my neighbour, who was suspected of insufficiencie,

CATUL. *El.* iii. 21.

Languidior tenera cui pendens sicula beta,
Nunquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam,

to justifie himselfe, three or foure daies after his mariage, swore confidently, that the night before, he had performed twenty courses: which oath hath since served to convince him of meere ignorance, and to divorce him from his wife. Besides, this allegation is of no great worth: For, there is nor continencie nor vertue, where no resistance is to the contrary. It is true, may one say, but I am not ready to yeeld. The Saints themselves speake so. This is understood of such as boast in good earnest of their coldnesse and insensibilitie, and would be credited with a serious countenance: for, when it is from an affected looke (where the eies give words the lie) and from the faltring speech of their profession (which ever workes against the wooll) I allow of it. I am a duteous servant unto plainnesse, simplicitie and libertie: but there is no

remedie, if it be not meerely plaine, simple or infantine; it is fond, inept and unseemely for Ladies in this commerce: it presently inclineth and bendeth to impudencie. Their disguisings, their figures and dissimulations cozen none but fooles; there lying sitteth in the chaire of honour; it is a by-way, which by a false posterne leads us unto truth. If we cannot containe their imaginations, what require we of them? the effects? Many there be, who are free from all strangers-communication, by which chastitie may be corrupted, and honestie defiled.

Illud sæpe facit, quod fine teste facit.
What she doth with no witnesse to it,
She often may be found to doe it.

MART. l. vii. *Epig.* lxi. 6.

And those whom we feare least, are peradventure most to be feared: their secret sins are the worst.

Offendor mœcha simpliciore minus.
Pleas'd with a whores simplicitie,
Offended with her nicitie.

Ibid. l. vi. *Epig.* vii. 6.

There are effects, which without impuritie may loose them their pudicitie ; and which is more, without their knowledge. *Obstetrix virginis cujusdam integritatem manu velut explorans, sive malevolentia, sive inscitia, sive casu, dum inspicit, perdidit:* "A Midwife searching with her finger into a certaine maidens virginitie, either for ill will, or of unskilfulnesse, or by chance, whilest shee seekes and lookes into it, shee lost and spoiled it." Some one hath lost or wronged her virginitie in looking or searching for it ; some other killed the same in playing with it. Wee are not able precisely to circumscribe them the actions we forbid them : Our law must be conceived under generall and uncertaine termes. The very Idea we forge unto their chastitie is ridiculous. For, amongst the extremest examples or patternes I have of it, it is Fatua the wife of Faunas, who after shee was maried, would never suffer herselfe to be seene of any man whatsoever. And Hierons wife, that never felt her husbands stinking breath, supposing it to be a qualitie common

to all men. It were necessary, that to satisfie and please us, they should become insensible and invisible. Now let us confesse, that the knot of the judgement of this duty consisteth principally in the will. There have beene husbands who have endured this accident, not only without reproach and offense against their wives, but with singular acknowledgement, obligation and commendation to their vertue. Some one that more esteemed her honestie then she loved her life, hath prostituted the same unto the lawlesse lust and raging sensualitie of a mortall hatefull enemy, thereby to save her husbands life ; and hath done that for him, which she could never have beene induced to doe for her selfe. This is no place to extend these examples : they are too high and over-rich, to be presented in this luster : let us therefore reserve them for a nobler seat. But to give you some examples of a more vulgar stampe : Are there not women daily seene amongst us, who for the only profit of their husbands, and by their expresse order and brokage,

make sale of their honesty? And in old times Phaulius the Argian, through ambition offred his to King Philip. Even as that Galba, who bestowed a supper on Mecenas, perceiving him and his wife beginne to bandy eie-trickes and signes, of civilitie shrunke downe upon his cushion, as one oppressed with sleepe; to give better scope unto their love; which he avouched as pretily: for at that instant, a servant of his presuming to lay hands on the plate which was on the table, he cried outright unto him; "How now varlet? Seest thou not I sleepe only for Mecenas?" One may be of a loose behaviour, yet of purer will and better reformed, then another who frameth her selfe to a precise apparance. As some are seene complaine because they vowed chastitie before yeeres of discretion or knowledge: so have I seene others unfainedly bewaile and truly lament that they were vowed to licentiousnesse and dissolutenesse before the age of judgement and distinction. The parents leaudnesse may be the cause of it; or the force of

impulsive necessitie, which is a shrewd counsellor, and a violent perswader. Though chastitie were in the East Indias of singular esteeme, yet the custome permitted, that a maried wife might freely betake her selfe to what man soever did present her an Elephant: and that which some glory, to have beene valued at so high a rate. Phedon the Philosopher, of a noble house, after the taking of his country Elis, professed to prostitute the beauty of his youth to all commers, so long as it should continue, for money to live with and beare his charges. And Solon was the first of Greece (say some) who by his lawes, gave women libertie, by the price of their honestie, to provide for their necessities: A custome which Herodotus reporteth, to have beene entertained before him in divers Commonwealthes. And moreover, what fruit yeelds this carefull vexation? For, what justice soever be in this passion, yet should wee note whether it harrie us unto our profit or no. Thinkes any man that he can ring them by his industrie?

JUVEN. *Sat.* vi. 247.

Pone seram, cohibe ; sed quis custodiet ipsos
Custodes ? cauta est, et ab illis incipit uxor.

Keepe her with locke and key : but from her who shall keepe
Her Keepers ? She begins with them, her wits so deepe.

What advantage sufficeth them not, in this so skilfull age ? Curiosity is everywhere vicious ; but herein pernicious. It is meere folly for one to seeke to be resolved of a doubt, or search into a mischiefe ; for which there is no remedie, but makes it worse, but festereth the same : the reproach whereof is increased, and chiefely published by jealousie : and the revenge whereof doth more wound and disgrace our children, then it helpeth or graceth us. You waste away and die in pursuit of so concealed a mysterie of so obscure a verification. Whereunto how pitiously have they arrived, who in my time have attained their purpose ? If the accuser, or intelligencer present not withall the remedie and his assistance, his office is injurious, his intelligence harmefull, and which better deserveth

a stabbe, then doth a lie. Wee flout him no lesse, that toileth to prevent it, then laugh at him that is a Cuckold and knowes it not. The character of cuckoldrie is perpetuall ; on whom it once fastneth, it holdeth for ever. The punishment bewraieth it more then the fault. It is a goodly sight, to draw our private misfortunes from out the shadow of oblivion or dungeon of doubt, for to blazon and proclaime them on Tragicall Stages : and misfortunes which pinch us not, but by relation. For (as the saying is) shee is a good wife, and that a good mariage, not that is so indeed, but whereof no man speaketh. Wee ought to be wittily-wary to avoid this irksome, this tedious and unprofitable knowledge. The Romans were accustomed, when they returned from any journey, to send home before, and give their wives notice of their comming, that so they might not surprize them. And therefore hath a certaine nation instituted the Priest to open the way unto the Bridegroome, on the wedding day, thereby to take from him the doubt

and curiositie of searching in this first attempt, whether shee come a pure virgin to him, or be broken and tainted with any former love. But the world speakes of it. I know a hundred Cuckolds, which are so, honestly and little undecently. An honest man and a gallant spirit, is moaned, but not disesteemed by it. Cause your vertue to suppresse your mishap; that honest-minded men may blame the occasion, and curse the cause; that he which offends you, may tremble with onely thinking of it. And moreover, what man is scot-free, or who is not spoken of in this sense, from the meanest unto the highest?

LUCR. l. iii.1070. ——— *tot qui legionibus imperitavit,*
Et melior quàm tu multis fuit, improbe, rebus.
He that so many bands of men commanded,
Thy better much, sir knave, was much like branded.

Seest thou not how many honest men, even in thy presence, are spoken of and touched with this reproach? Imagine then they will bee as bold with thee, and say as much of thee else-where. For no man is

spared. And even Ladies will scoffe and prattle of it. And what doe they now adaies more willingly flout at, then at any well-composed and peaceable mariage? There is none of you all but hath made one Cuckold or other: Now nature stood ever on this point, "Kae mee Ile kae thee," and ever ready to bee even, alwaies on recompences and vicissitude of things, and to give as good as one brings. The long-continued frequence of his accident, should by this time have seasoned the bitter taste thereof: It is almost become a custome. Oh miserable passion, which hath also this mischiefe, to bee incommunicable.

Fors etiam nostris invidit quæstibus aures.
Fortune ev'n eares envied,
To heare us when we cried.

CATUL. *Her. Argon*, 170.

For, to what friend dare you entrust your greevances, who, if hee laugh not at them, will not make use of them, as a direction and instruction to take a share of the quarie or bootie to himselfe? As well

the sowrenesse and inconveniences, as the sweetnesse and pleasures incident to mariage, are secretly concealed by the wiser sort. And amongst other importunate conditions belonging to wedlocke, this one, unto a babling fellow as I am, is of the chiefest; that tyrannous custome makes it uncomely and hurtfull, for a man to communicate with any one all hee knowes and thinkes of it. To give women advice to distaste them from jealousie, were but time lost or labour spent in vaine. Their essence is so infected with suspicion, with vanitie and curiositie, that we may not hope to cure them by any lawfull meane. They often recover of this infirmitie by a forme of health, much more to be feared, then the disease itselfe. For even as some inchantment cannot ridde away an evill, but with laying it on another, so when they lose it, they transferre and bestow this maladie on their husbands. And to say truth, I wot not whether a man can endure any thing at their hands worse then jealousie: of all their conditions it is most dangerous, as

the head of all their members. Pittacus said, that "every man had one imperfection or other: his wives curst pate was his"; and but for that, he should esteeme himselfe most happy. It must needs be a weightie inconvenience, wherewith so just, so wise and worthie a man, felt the state of his whole life distempered: what shall wee petie fellowes doe then? The Senate of Marceille had reason to grant and enroll his request, who demanded leave to kill himselfe, thereby to free and exempt himselfe from his wives tempestuous scolding humor; for it is an evill, that is never cleane rid away, but by remooving the whole peece: and hath no other composition of worth, but flight or sufferance; both too-too hard, God knowes. And in my conceit, he understood it right, that said, a good mariage might be made betweene a blinde woman and a deafe man. Let us also take heed, lest this great and violent strictnesse of obligation we enjoine them, produce not two effects contrary to our end: that is to wit, to set an edge upon their suiters

stomacks, and make women more easie to yeeld. For, as concerning the first point, enhancing the price of the place, we raise the price and endeare the desire of the conquest. Might it not be Venus her selfe, who so cunningly enhanced the market of her ware, by the brokage or panderizing of the lawes? knowing how sottish and tastlesse a delight it is, were it not enabled by opinion, and endeared by dearenesse? To conclude, it is all but hogges flesh, varied by sauce, as said Flaminius his hoast. Cupid is a roguish God; his sport is to wrestle with devotion and to contend with justice. It is his glory, that his power checketh and copes all other might, and that all other rules give place to his.

OVID. *Trist.* l. iv. *El.* i. 34.

Materiam culpæ prosequitur que suæ.
He prosecutes the ground,
Where he is faulty found.

And as for the second point; should wee not be lesse Cuckolds if wee lesse feared to be so? according to womens conditions:

whom inhibition inciteth, and restraint inviteth.

Ubi velis nolunt, ubi nolis volunt ultro:
They will not when you will,
When you will not, they will.
TER. *Eunuc.* act iv. sc. 6.

Concessâ pudet ire viâ.
They are asham'd to passe
The way that granted was.
LUCAN. l.ii. 445.

What better interpretation can we finde concerning Messalinas demeanor? In the beginning she made her silly husband Cuckold, secretly and by stealth (as the fashion is) but perceiving how uncontrolled and easily she went on with her matches, by reason of the stupidity that possessed him, shee presently contemned and forsooke that course, and began openly to make love, to avouch her servants, to entertaine and favour them in open view of all men; and would have him take notice of it, and seeme to be distasted with it: but the silly gull and senselesse coxcombe awaked not for all this, and by his over-base facilitie, by which hee seemed to authorize and legiti-

mate her humors, yeelding her pleasures weerish, and her amours tastelesse: what did shee? Being the wife of an Emperour, lustie, in health and living; and where? In Rome, on the worlds chiefe Theater, at high noone-day, at a stately feast, in a publike ceremonie; and which is more, with one Silius, whom long time before she had freely enjoied, she was solemnly maried one day that her husband was out of the Citie. Seemes it not that shee tooke a direct course to become chaste, by the retchlesnesse of her husband? or that she sought another husband, who by jealousie might whet her appetite, and who insisting might incite her? But the first difficultie she met with, was also the last. The drowzie beast rouzed himselfe and suddenly started up. One hath often the worst bargaines at the hands of such sluggish logger-heads. I have seene by experience, that this extreme patience or long-sufferance, if it once come to be dissolved, produceth most bitter and outragious revenges: for, taking fire all at once, choller and fury

hudling all together, becomming one confused chaos, clattereth foorth their violent effects at the first charge.

Irarumque omnes effundit habenas. VIRG. *Æn.* xii. 499.
It quite lets loose the raine,
That anger should restraine.

He caused both her and a great number of her instruments and abettors to be put to death; yea such as could not doe withall, and whom by force of whipping she had allured to her adulterous bed. What Virgil saith of Venus and Vulcan, Lucretius had more sutably said it of a secretly-stolne enjoying betweene her and Mars.

——— *belli fera munera Mavors* LUCR. I. i. 33.
Armipotens regit, in gremium qui sæpe tuum se
Rejicit, æterno devinctus vulnere amoris:
Pascit amore avidos inhians in te Dea visus,
Eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore:
Hunc tu Diva tuo recubantem corpore sancto
Circunfusa super, suaveis ex ore loquelas
Funde.

Mars mighty-arm'd, rules the fierce feates of armes,
Yet often casts himselfe into thine armes,
Oblig'd thereto by endlesse wounds of love,
Gaping on thee feeds greedy sight with love,

His breath hangs at thy mouth who upward lies;
Goddese thou circling him, while he so lies,
With thy celestiall body, speeches sweet
Powre from thy mouth (as any Nectar sweet).

When I consider this, *rejicit pascit inhians, molli, fovet, medullas, labefacta, pendet, percurrit*, and this noble *circunfusa*, mother of gentle *infusus*; I am vexed at these small points and verball allusions, which since have sprung up. To those well-meaning people, there needed no sharpe encounter or witty equivocation: Their speech is altogether full and massie, with a naturall and constant vigor: They are all epigram; not only taile, but head, stomacke and feet. There is nothing forced, nothing wrested, nothing limping; all marcheth with like tenour. *Contextus totus virilis est, non sunt circa flosculos occupati:* "The whole composition or text is manly, they are not bebusied about Rhetorike flowers." This is not a soft quaint eloquence, and only without offence, it is sinnowie, materiall, and solid; not so much delighting, as filling and ravishing, and ravisheth

most the strongest wits, the wittiest conceits. When I behold these gallant formes of expressing, so lively, so nimble, so deepe: I say not this is to speake wel, but to thinke well. It is the quaintnesse or livelinesse of the conceit, that elevateth and puffes up the words. *Pectus est quod disertum facit:* "It is a mans owne brest, that makes him eloquent." Our people terme judgement, language; and full conceptions, fine words. This pourtraiture is directed not so much by the hands dexteritie, as by having the object more lively printed in the minde. Gallus speakes plainly, because he conceiveth plainly. Horace is not pleased with a sleight or superficiall expressing, it would betray him; he seeth more cleere and further into matters: his spirit pickes and ransacketh the whole store-house of words and figures, to shew and present himselfe; and he must have them more then ordinary, as his conceit is beyond ordinary. Plutarch saith, that he discerned the Latine tongue by things. Heere likewise the sense enlightneth and

produceth the words: no longer windie or spungie, but of flesh and bone. They signifie more then they utter. Even weake ones shew some image of this. For, in Italie, I spake what I listed in ordinary discourses, but in more serious and pithy, I durst not have dared to trust to an Idiome, which I could not winde or turne beyond it's common grace, or vulgar bias. I will bee able to adde and use in it somewhat of mine owne. The managing and emploiment of good wits, endeareth and giveth grace unto a tongue: Not so much innovating as filling the same with more forcible and divers services, wresting, straining and enfolding it. They bring no words unto it, but enrich their owne, waigh-downe and cramme-in their signification and custome; teaching it unwonted motions; but wisely and ingenuously. Which skill how little it is given to all, may plainly bee discerned by most of our moderne French Writers. They are over-bold and scornefull, to shunne the common trodden path: but want of invention and lacke of discretion looseth

them. There is nothing to be seene in them but a miserable strained affectation of strange Inke-pot termes; harsh, cold and absurd disguisements, which in stead of raising, pull downe the matter. So they may gallantize and flush it in noveltie, they care not for efficacie. To take hold of a new farre-fetcht word, they neglect the usuall, which often are more significant, forcible and sinnowie. I finde sufficient store of stuffe in our language, but some defect of fashion. For there is nothing but could be framed of our Hunters gibbrish words or strange phrases, and of our Warriours peculiar tearmes; a fruitfull and rich soyle to borrow off. And as hearbes and trees are bettered and fortified by being transplanted, so formes of speach are embellished and graced by variation. I finde it sufficiently plenteous, but not sufficiently plyable and vigorous. It commonly faileth and shrinketh under a pithy and powerfull conception. If your march therein be far extended, you often feele it droope and languish under you, unto whose default the Latine doth

now and then present his helping hand, and the Greeke to some others. By some of these words which I have culled out, we more hardly perceive the Energie or effectuall operation of them, forsomuch as use and frequencie have in some sort abased the grace and made their beauty vulgar. As in our ordinary language, we shall sometimes meete with excellent phrases, and quaint metaphors, whose blithnesse fadeth through age, and colour is tarnish by to common using them. But that doth nothing distaste those of sound judgement, nor derogate from the glory of those ancient Authours, who, as it is likely were the first that brought these words into luster, and raised them to that straine. The Sciences handle this over finely, with an artificiall maner, and different from the vulgar and naturall forme. My Page makes love, and understands it feelingly; Read Leon Hebræus or Ficinus unto him; you speake of him, of his thoughts and of his actions, yet understands he nothing what you meane. I not acknowledg nor discerne in Aristotle,

the most part of my ordinary motions. They are clothed with other robes, and shrouded under other vestures, for the use of Academicall schooles. God send them well to speed : but were I of the trade, I would naturalize Arte, as much as they Artize nature. There let us leave Benbo and Equicola. When I write, I can well omit the company, and spare the remembrance of bookes ; for feare they interrupt my forme. And in truth good Authours deject me too-too much, and quaile my courage. I willingly imitate that Painter, who having bungler-like drawne, and fondly represented some Cockes, forbad his boies to suffer any live Cocke to come into his shop. And to give myselfe some luster or grace have rather neede of some of Antinonydes the Musicions invention ; who when he was to play any musicke, gave order that before or after him, some other bad musicions should cloy and surfet his auditory. But I can very hardly be without Plutarke ; he is so universal and so full, that upon all occasions, and whatsoever extravagant subject you

have undertaken, he intrudeth himselfe into your worke, and gently reacheth you a helpe-affording hand, fraught with rare embelishments, and inexaustible of precious riches. It spights me, that he is so much exposed unto the pillage of those which haunt him. He can no sooner come in my sight, or if I cast but a glance upon him, but I pull some legge or wing from him. For this my dissignement, it much fitteth my purpose, that I write in mine owne house, in a wilde country, where no man helpeth or releeveth me; where I converse with no body that understands the Latine of his Paternoster and as little of French. I should no doubt have done it better elsewhere, but then the worke had beene lesse mine: whose principall drift and perfection, is to be exactly mine; I could mend an accidentall errour, whereof I abound in mine unwary course; but it were a kinde of treason to remoove the imperfections from me, which in me are ordinary and constant. When any body else, or my selfe have said unto my selfe: Thou art to full of figures or

allegories; here is a word meerely-bred Gaskoyne; that's a dangerous phrase: (I refuse none that are used in the frequented streets of France; those that wil combat use and custome by the strict rules of Grammar do but jest) there's an ignorant discourse, that's a paradoxical relation; or there's a foolish conceit: thou doest often but dally: one will thinke thou speakest in earnest, what thou hast but spoken in jest. Yea (say I) but I correct unadvised, not costumarie errors. Speake I not so every where? Doe I not lively display my selfe? that sufficeth; I have my will; All the world may know me by my booke, and my booke by me: But I am of an Apish and imitating condition. When I medled with making of verses (and I never made any but in Latine) they evidently accused the Poet I came last from reading: And of my first Essayes, some taste a little of the stranger. At Paris I speake somewhat otherwise then at Montaigne. Whom I behold with attention, doth easily convay and imprint something of his in me. What

I heedily consider, the same I usurpe: a foolish countenance, a crabbed looke, a ridiculous manner of speech. And vices more: because they pricke mee, they take fast hold upon mee, and leave mee not, unlesse I shake them off. I have more often beene heard to sweare by imitation, then by complexion. Oh injurious and dead-killing imitation: like that of those huge in greatnesse and matchlesse in strength Apes, which Alexander met withall in a certaine part of India: which otherwise it had beene hard to vanquish. But by this their inclination to counterfeit whatsoever they saw done, they afforded the meanes. For, thereby the Hunters learn't in their fight to put on shooes, and tie them with many strings and knots; to dresse their heads with divers strange attires, full of sliding-knots; and dissemblingly to rub their eyes with Glew, or Birde-lime. So did those silly harmelesse beastes indiscreetly employ their Apish disposition. They ensnared, glewed, entrameled, haltred and shackled themselves.

That other faculty of Extempore and wittily representing the gestures and words of another, which often causeth sport and breedeth admyring, is no more in me then in a blocke. When I sweare after mine owne fashion, it is onely by God; the directest of all oathes. They report that Socrates swore by a Dogge; Zeno by that interjection (now a daies used amongst the Italies) Cappari; and Pithagoras by water and by aire. I am so apt at unawares to entertaine these superficiall impressions, that if but for three daies together I use my selfe to speake to any Prince with your Grace or your Highnesse, for eight daies after I so forget my selfe, that I shall still use them for your Honour or your Worship: and what I am wont to speake in sport or jest the next day after I shall speake in good serious earnest. Therefore in writing I assume more unwillingly much beaten arguments, for feare I handle them at others charges. All arguments are alike fertile to me. I take them upon any trifle. And I pray God this were not undertaken by the

commandement of a minde as fleeting. Let me begin with that likes me best for all matters are linked one to another. But my conceit displeaseth me, for somuch as it commonly produceth most foolish dotages from deepest studies; and such as content me on a suddaine, and when I least looke for them; which as fast fleete away, wanting at that instant some holde fast. On horse-backe, at the table, in my bed; but most on horse-backe, where my amplest meditations and my farthest reaching conceites are. My speech is somewhat nicely jealous of attention and silence; if I be in any earnest talke, who interrupteth me, cuts me off. In travell, even the necessity of waies breakes off discourses. Besides that I most commonly travell without company, which is a great helpe for continued reasonings; whereby I have sufficient leasure to entertaine my selfe. I thereby have that successe I have in dreames; In dreaming I commend them to my memory (for what I dream I doe it willingly), but the next morning, I can well

call to minde what colour they were of, whether blith, sad or strange; but what in substance, the more I labour to finde out, the more I overwhelme them in oblivion. So of casuall and unpremeditated conceits that come into my braine, nought but a vaine image of them remaineth in my memory; so much onely, as sufficeth unprofitably to make me chafe, spight and fret in pursuite of them. Well then, leaving bookes aside and speaking more materially and simply; when all is done, I finde that love is nothing else but an insatiate thirst of enjoying a greedily desired subject. Nor Venus that good huswife, other, then a tickling delight of emptying ones seminary vessels: as is the pleasure which nature giveth us to discharge other parts: which becommeth faulty by immoderation, and defective by indiscretion. To Socrates, love is an appetite of generation by the mediation of beauty. Now considering oftentimes the rediculous tickling, or titilation of this pleasure, the absurd, giddy and hare-braind motions

wherwith it tosseth Zeno, and agitates Cratippus; that unadvised rage, that furious and with cruelty enflamed visage in loves lustfull and sweetest effects: and then a grave, sterne, severe surly countenance in so fond-fond an action, that one hath pell-mell lodged our joyes and filthes together: and that the supremest voluptuousnesse both ravisheth and plaineth, as doth sorrow: I beleeve that which Plato saies to be true, that man was made by the Gods for them to toy and play withall.

—— *quænam ista jocandi Sævitia?*
What cruelty is this, so set on jesting is?

And that Nature in mockery left us the most troublesome of our actions, the most common: therby to equal us, and without distinction to set the foolish and the wise, us and beasts all in one ranke: no barrell better Hering. When I imagine the most contemplative and discreetly-wise-men in these tearmes in that humour, I hold him for a cozoner, for a cheater to seeme either

studiously contemplative, or discreetly wise. It is the foulnesse of the Peacockes feete, which doth abate his pride, and stoope his gloating-eyed tayle ;

——— *ridentem dicere verum,*
Quid vetat ?

HOR. *Ser.* I. i. *Sat.* ii. 24.

What should forbid thee sooth to say, yet be as mery as we may.

Those which in playes refuse serious opinions, doe as one reporteth, like unto him who dreadeth to adore the image of a Saint, if it want a cover, an approne or a tabernacle. We feed full well, and drinke like beastes ; but they are not actions that hinder the offices of our minde. In those, we hold good our advantage over them ; whereas this brings each other thought under subjection, and by it's imperious authority make - brutish and dulleth all Platoes philosophie and divinity ; and yet he complaines not of it. In al other things you may observe decorum and maintaine some decencie : all other operations admit some rules of honesty : this cannot onely

be imagined, but vicious or ridiculous. See whether for example sake, you can but find a wise or discreete proceeding in it. Alexander said, that he knew himselfe mortall chiefly by this action, and by sleeping: sleepe doth stifle, and suppresseth the faculties of our soule; and that, both endevoureth and dissipates them. Surely it is an argument not onely of our originall corruption, but a badge of our vanity and deformity. On the one side nature urgeth us unto it; having thereunto combined, yea fastned, the most noble, the most profitable, and the most sensually-pleasing, of all her functions; and on the other suffereth us to accuse, to condemne and to shunne it, as insolent, as dishonest and as lewder to blush at it, and allow, yea and to commend abstinence. Are not we most brutish, to terme that worke beastly which begets, and which maketh us? Most people have concurred in divers cerimonies of religion, as sacrifices, luminaries, fastings, incensings, offrings; and amongst others, in condemning of this action. All opinions agree in

that, besides the so farre-extended use of circumcision. Wee have peradventure reason to blame our selves, for making so foolish a production as man, and to entitle both the deed and parts thereto belonging, shamful (mine are properly so at this instant). The Esseniens, of whom Plinie speaketh, maintained themselves a long time without nurces, or swathling-clothes, by the arrival of strangers that came to their shoares, who seconding their fond humor, did often visit them. A whole nation hazarding rather to consume, then engage themselves to feminine embracements; and rather loose the succession of all men, then forge one. They report that Zeno never dealt with woman but once in all his life; which hee did for civilitie, least he should over obstinately seeme to contemne the sex. Each one avoideth to see a man borne, but all runne hastily to see him dye. To destroy him wee seeke a spacious field and a full light; but to construct him, we hide our selves in some darke corner, and worke as close as we may.

It is our dutie to conceale our selves in making him; it is our glory, and the originall of many vertues to destroy him, being framed. The one is a manifest injurie, the other a greater favor; for Aristotle saith, that in a certaine phrase where he was borne, to bonifie or benefit, was as much to say as to kill one. The Athenians, to equall the disgrace of these two actions being to cleanse the Ile of Delos, and justifie themselves unto Apollo, forbad within that precinct all buriall and births.

TER. *Phor.* *Nostri nosmet pœnitet:* "We are weary of our selves." There are some nations that when they are eating, they cover themselves. I know a Lady (yea one of the greatest) who is of opinion that to chew is an unseemly thing, which much empaireth their grace and beauty: and therefore by hir will she never comes abroad with an appetite. And a man that cannot endure one should see him eate; and shunneth all company more when he filleth, then when he emptieth himselfe. In the Turkish Empire there are many, who to excell the

rest, will not be seene when they are feeding, and who make but one meale in a weeke: who mangle their face and cut their limmes; and who never speake to any body; who thinke to honour their nature, by disnaturing themselves: oh fantasticall people, that prize themselves by their contempt, and mend by their empairing. What monstrous beast is this that makes himselfe a horror to himselfe, whome his delightes displease, who tyes himselfe unto misfortune? some there are that conceale their life,

Exilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant. VIRG. *Geor.* l. ii. 511.

They change for banishment, The places that might best content,

and steale it from the sight of other men: That eschew health, and shunne mirth as hatefull qualities and harmefull. Not onely divers Sects, but many people curse their birth and blesse their death. Some there be that abhorre the glorious Sunne, and adore the hiddious darkenesse. We are not ingenious but to our owne vexation:

It is the true foode of our spirits force: a dangerous and most unruly implement.

CORN. *Gal. El.* i. 188.

O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent,
O miserable they, whose joyes in fault we lay.

Alas poore silly man, thou hast but too-too many necessary and unavoidable incommodities, without increasing them by thine owne invention, and art sufficiently wretched of condition without any arte: thou aboundest in reall and essentiall deformities, and needest not forge any by imagination. Doest thou finde thy selfe to well at ease, unlesse the moity of thine ease molest thee? Findest thou to have supplied or discharged al necessary offices, wherto nature engageth thee, and that she is idle in thee, if thou binde not thy selfe unto new offices? thou fearest not to offend hir universall and undoubted lawes, and art mooved at thine owne partiall and fantasticall ones. And by how much more particular, uncertaine, and contradicted they are, the more endevours thou bestowest

that way. The positive orders of thy parish tie thee, those of the world do nothing concerne thee. Runne but a little over the examples of this consideration; thy life is full of them. The verses of these two Poets, handling lasciviousnes so sparingly and so discreetly, as they do, in my conceite seeme to discover, and display it nearer; ladies cover their bosome with networke; priests many sacred things with a vaile, and painters shadow their workes, to give them the more luster, and to adde more grace unto them. And they say that the streakes of the Sunne, and force of the winde, are much more violent by reflection, then by a direct line. The Egyptian answered him wisely, that asked him, what he had hidden under his cloake? "It is" (quoth he) "hidden under my cloake, that thou maist not know what it is." But there are certaine other things which men conceale to shew them. Here this fellow more open.

Et nudam pressi corpus adusque meum.
My body I applide, Even to her naked side.

OVID. *Am.* l. i. *El.* v. 24.

Me thinkes he baffles me. Let Martiall at his pleasure tuck-up Venus he makes her not by much appeare so wholly. He that speakes all he knows, doth cloy and distaste us. Who feareth to expresse himselfe, leadeth our conceite to imagine more then happily he conceiveth. There is treason in this kinde of modesty: and chiefly as these doe, in opening us so faire a path unto imagination: Both the action and description should taste of purloyning. The love of the Spaniards, and of the Italians pleaseth me; by how much more respective and fearfull it is the more nicely close and closely nice it is, I wot not who in ancient time wished his throat were as long as a Cranes neck, that so hee might the longer and more leasurely taste what hee swallowed. That wish were more to purpose then this suddaine and violent pleasure: Namely in such natures as mine, who am faulty in suddainenesse. To stay her fleeting, and delay her with preambles, with them all serveth for favour, all is construed to bee a recompence, a winke, a

cast of the eye, a bowing, a word, or a signe, a becke is as good as a Dew guard. Hee that could dine with the smoake of roste-meat, might he not dine at a cheape rate? would he not soone be rich? It is a passion that commixeth with small store of solide essence, great quantitie of doating vanity, and febricitant raving: it must therefore be requited and served with the like. Let us teach Ladies, to know how to prevaile; highly to esteeme themselves; to ammuse, to circumvent and cozen us. We make our last charge the first: we shew our selves right French men: ever rash, ever headlong. Wire-drawing their favours, and enstalling them by retaile: each one, even unto miserable old age, findes some listes end, according to his worth and merite. He who hath no jovisance but in enjoying; who shootes not but to hit the marke; who loves not hunting but for the prey; it belongs not to him to entermeddle with our Schoole. The more steps and degrees there are: the more delight and honour is there on the top. We should bee pleased

to bee brought unto it, as unto stately Pallaces, by divers porches severall passages, long and pleasant Galleries, and well contrived turnings. This dispensation would in the end, redound to our benefite; we should stay on it, and longer love to lie at Racke and Manger; for these snatches and away, marre the grace of it. Take away hope and desire, we grow faint in our courses, we come but lagging after: Our mastery and absolute possession, is infinitely to bee feared of them: After they have wholy yeelded themselves to the mercy of our faith and constancie, they have hazarded something: They are rare and difficult vertues: so soone as they are ours, we are no longer theirs.

CATUL. *Arg.* v. 147.

——— *postquam cupidæ mentis satiata libido est.*
Verba nihil metuere, nihil perjuria curant.
The lust of greedy minde once satisfied,
They feare no words, nor reke othes falsified.

And Thrasonides a young Grecian, was so religiously amorous of his love, that having after much sute gained his mistris hart and

favour, he was refused to enjoy hir, least by that jovissance he might or quench, or satisfie, or languish that burning flame and restlesse heat wherwith he gloryed, and so pleasingly fed himselfe. Things farre fetcht and dearly bought are good for Ladyes. It is the deare price makes viands savour the better. See but how the forme of salutations, which is peculiar unto our nation, doth by it's facilitie bastardize the grace of kisses, which Socrates saith, to be of that consequence, waight and danger, to ravish and steale our hearts. It is an unpleasing and injurious custome unto Ladies, that they must afford their lips to any man that hath but three Lackies following him, how unhandsome and lothsome soever he be :

Cujus livida naribus caninis,
Dependet glacies, rigetque barba :
Centùm occurrere malo culilingis.

MART. l. v. *Epig.* xciv. 10.

From whose dog-nosthrils black-blew Ise depends,
Whose beard frost-hardned stands on bristled ends, &c.

Nor do we our selves gaine much by it : for

as the world is divided into foure parts, so for foure faire ones, we must kisse fiftie foule: and to a nice or tender stomacke, as are those of mine age, one ill kisse doth surpay one good. In Italy they are passionate and languishing sutors to very common and mercenarie women; and thus they defend and excuse themselves, saying; That even in enjoying there be certaine degrees; and that by humble services, they will endevour to obtaine that, which is the most absolutely perfect. They sell but their bodyes, their willes cannot be put to sale; that is too free, and too much it's owne. So say these, that it is the will they attempt, and they have reason: It is the will one must serve and most solicite. I abhor to imagine mine, a body voide of affection. And me seemeth, this frenzie hath some affinitie with that boyes fond humor, who for pure love would wantonize with that fayre image of Venus, which Praxiteles had made: or of that furious Ægyptian, who lusted after a dead womans corpes which he was embaulming and stitch-

ing up : which was the occasion of the lawe that afterwarde was made in Ægypt : that the bodies of faire, young and nobly borne women, should be kept three dayes, before they should be delivered into the hands of those who had the charge to provide for their funerals and burials. Periander did more miraculouslie : who extended his conjugall affection (more regular and lawfull) unto the enjoying of Melissa his deceased wife. Seemes it not to be a lunatique humor in the Moone, being otherwise unable to enjoy Endimion hir favorite darling, to lull him in a sweete slumber for many moneths together ; and feed hirselfe with the jovissance of a boye, that stirred not but in a dreame ? I say likewise, that a man loveth a body without a soule, when he loveth a body without his consent and desire. All enjoyings are not alike. There are some hecticke, faint and languishing ones. A thousand causes, besides affection and good will, may obtaine us this graunt of women. It is no sufficient testimonie of true affection : therein may

lurke treason, as else-where : they sometime goe but faintlie to worke, and as they say with one buttocke ;

MART. l. xi. *Epi.* xiv. 5, 12.

Tanquam thura merumque, parent ;
As though they did dispense,
Pure Wine and Frankincense.

Ibid. Epig. lxi. 8.

Absentem marmoreâmve putes.
Of Marble you would thinke she were,
Or that she were not present there.

I knowe some, that would rather lend that, then their coach ; and who emparte not themselves, but that way : you must also marke whether your company pleaseth them for some other respect, or for that end onely, as of a lustie-strong grome of a Stable : as also in what rank, and at what rate you are there lodged or valued ;

CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 147.

——— *tibi si datur uni ;*
Quo lapide illa diem candidiore notet.
If it afforded be to thee alone,
Whereby she counts that day of all dayes one.

What if she eate your bread, with

the sauce of a more pleasing imagination?

Te tenet, absentes alios suspirat amores. TIBUL. l. iv. *El.* v. 11.
Thee she retaines, yet sigheth she
For other loves that absent be.

What? have we not seene some in our dayes, to have made use of this action, for the execution of a most horrible revenge, by that meanes murthering and empoysoning (as one did) a very honest woman? such as know Italie will never wonder, if for this subject, I seeke for no examples else-where. For the said nation may in that point be termed Regent of the world. They have commonly more faire women, and fewer foule then we; but in rare and excellent beauties I thinke we match them. The like I judge of their wits; of the vulgar sort they have evidently many more. Blockishnes is without all comparison more rare amongst them: but for singular wits, and of the highest pitch, we are no whit behinde them. Were I to extend this comparison, I might (me thinkes) say, touching valor, that on the other-side, it is

in regard of them popular and naturall amongst us: but in their hands one may sometimes finde it so compleate and vigorous, that it exceedeth all the most forcible examples wee have of it. The mariages of that countrie are in this somewhat defective. Their custome doth generally impose so severe observances, and slavish lawes upon wives, that the remotest acquaintance with a stranger, is amongst them as capitall as the nearest. Which law causeth, that all approaches proove necessarilie substanciall: and seeing all commeth to one reckoning with them, they have an easie choise: and have they broken downe their hedges? Beleeve it, they will have fire: *Luxuria ipsis vinculis, sicut fera bestia, irritata, deinde emissa:* "Luxurie is like a wilde beast, first made fiercer with tying, and then let loose." They must have the reynes given them a little.

OVID. *Am.* l. iii. *El.* iv. 13.

Vidi ego nuper equum contra sua frena tenacem
Ore reluctanti fulminis ire modo.

I saw, spite of his bit, a resty colt,
Runne head-strong headlong like a thunder-bolt.

They allay the desire of company, by giving, it some libertie. It is a commendable custome with our nation, that our children are entertained in noble houses there, as in a schoole of nobilitie to be trained and brought up as Pages. And t'is said to be a kinde of discourtesie, to refuse it a gentleman. I have observed (for, so many houses so many severall formes and orders) that such Ladies as have gone about to give their waiting women the most austere rules, have not had the best successe. There is required more then ordinary moderation: a great part of their government must bee left to the conduct of their discretion: For, when all comes to all no discipline can bridle them in each point. True it is, that shee who escapeth safe and unpolluted from out the schoole of freedome, giveth more confidence of hirselfe, then shee who commeth sound out of the schoole of severitie and restraint. Our forefathers framed their daughters countenances unto shamefastnesse and feare (their inclinations and desires alwaies alike) wee unto

assurance. We understand not the matter. That belongeth to the Sarmatian wenches, who by their lawes may lie with noe man, except with their owne hands they have before killed another man in warre. To mee that have no right but by the eares, it sufficeth, if they retaine me to be of their counsell, following the priviledge of mine age: I then advise both them and us to embrace abstinence, but if this season bee too much against it, at least modestie and discretion. For, as Aristippus (speaking to some young men who blushed to see him go into a bawdy house) said, the fault was not in entring, but in not comming out againe. She that will not exempt hir conscience, let hir exempt hir name: though the substance bee not of worth, yet let the apparance hould still good. I love gradation and prolonging, in the distribution of their favours. Plato sheweth, that in all kinds of love, facilitie and readinesse is forbidden to defendants. T'is a trick of greedinesse, which it behoveth them to cloake with their arte, so rashly and fond-hardily to yeeld

themselves in grosse. In their distributions of favours, holding a regular and moderate course, they much better deceive our desires, and conceale theirs. Let them ever bee flying before us: I meane even those that intend to bee overtaken as the Scithians are wont, though they seeme to runne away, they beate us more, and sooner put us to route. Verily according to the lawe which nature giveth them, it is not fit for them to will and desire: their part is to beare, to obay and to consent. Therefore hath nature bestowed a perpetuall capacitie; on us a seld and uncertaine abilitie. They have alwayes their houre, that they may ever be ready to let us enter. And whereas she hath willed our appetites should make apparant shew and declaration, she caused theirs to bee concealed and inward: and hath furnished them with parts unfit for ostentation; and onely for defence. Such prankes as this, we must leave to the Amazonian libertie. Alexander the great marching through Hircania, Thalestris Queen of the Amazones came to meet

him with three hundred lances of her sex, all well mounted and compleately armed; having left the residue of a great armie, that followed hir, beyond the neighbouring mountaines. And thus aloud, that all might here she bespake him; That the farre-resounding fame of his victories, and matchlesse valour, had brought hir thither to see him, and to offer him hir meanes and forces, for the advancing and furthering of his enterprises. And finding him so faire, so young and strong, she, who was perfectly accomplished in all his qualities, advised him to ly with hir that so there might be borne of the most valiant woman in the world, and onely valiant man then living, some great and rare creature for posteritie. Alexander thanked hir for the rest; but to take leasure for hir last demands accomplishment, he staide thirteene dayes in that place, during which, he revelled with as much glee, and feasted with as great jollitie as possibly could be devised, in honour and favour of so couragious a Princess. Wee are well-nigh in all things parciall and corrupted

Judges of their action, as no doubt they are of ours. I allow of truth as well when it hurts me, as when it helpes me. It is a foule disorder, that so often urgeth them unto change, and hinders them from setling their affection on any one subject: as wee see in this Goddesse, to whom they impute so many changes and severall friends. But withall it is against the nature of love, not to be violent, and against the condition of violence, to be constant. And those who wonder at it, exclaime against it, and in women search for the causes of this infirmitie, as incredible and unnatural: why see they not how often, without any amazement and exclaiming, themselves are possessed and infected with it? It might happily seeme more strange to find any constant stay in them. It is not a passion meerely corporeall. If no end be found in coveteousnesse, nor limit in ambition, assure your selfe there is nor end nor limit in letchery. It yet continueth after sacietie: nor can any man prescribe it or end or constant satisfaction: it ever goeth

on beyond it's possession, beyond it's bounds. And if constancie bee peradventure in some sort more pardonable in them then in us: They may readily alleage against us, our ready inclination unto daylie variety and new ware: And secondly alleage without us, that they buy a pigge in a poake. Ione Queene of Naples caused Andreosse her first husband to be strangled and hang'd out of the barres of his window, with a corde of Silke and golde woven with her owne handes; because in bed-businesse shee found neither his members nor endevours answerable the hope shee had conceived of him, by viewing his stature, beauty, youth, and disposition, by which she had formerly beene surprised and abused. That action hath in it more violence then passion: so that on their part at least necessitie is ever provided for: on our behalfe it may happen otherwise. Therefore Plato by his lawes did very wisely establish, that before marriages the better to decide it's opportunity, competent Judges might be appointed to take view of yong men which pretended the same, al

naked: and of maidens but to the waste: in making triall of us, they happily find us not worthy their choise:

Experta latus, madidoque simillima loro
Inguina, nec lassa stare coacta manu
Deserit imbelles thalamos.

MART. l. vii. *Epig.* lvii. 3.

It is not sufficient, that will keepe a livelie course: weakenesse and incapacity may lawfully breake wedlock;

Et quærendum aliunde foret nervosius illud
Quod posset Zonam solvere virgineam.

CATUL. *Eleg.* iii. 27.

Why not, and according to measure, an amorous intelligence, more licencious and more active?

Si blando nequeat superesse labori.
If it cannot out last, labor with pleasure past.

VIRG. *Geor.* l. iii. 127.

But is it not great impudencie, to bring our imperfections and weakenesse, in place where we desire to please, and leave a good report and commendation behind us? for the little I now stand in need of.

——ad unum
Mollis opus.
Unable to hold out, one only busie bout,

I would not importune any one, whom I am to reverence.

HOR. *Car.* l. ii. 2. *Od.* iv. 22.

——— *fuge suspicari,*
Cujus undenum trepidavit ætas
Claudere lustrum.

Him of suspition cleare,
Whom age hath brought well neare
To five and fifty yeare.

Nature should have beene pleased to have made this age miserable, without making it also ridiculous. I hate to see one for an inch of wretched vigor, which enflames him but thrice a week, take-on and swagger as fiercely, as if he had some great and lawfull dayes-worke in his belly: a right blast or puffe of winde: And admire his itching, so quick and nimble, all in a moment to be lubberly squat and benummed. This appetite should onely belong to the blossom of a prime youth. Trust not unto it, though you see it second that indefatigable, ful, constant and swelling heate, that is in you: for truly it will leave you at the best, and when you shall most stand in neede of it.

Send it rather to some tender, irresolute and ignorant girle, which yet trembleth for feare of the rod, and that will blush at it,

Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro,
Si quis ebur, vel mista rubent ubi lilia, multa
Alba rosa.

VIRG. *Æn.* 1. xii. 67.

As if the Indian Yvory one should taint,
With blodie Scarlet-graine, or Lillies paint,
White entermixt with red with Roses enter-spred.

Who can stay untill the next morrow, and not die for shame, the disdaine of those love sparkling eyes, privie to his faintnesse, dastardise and impertinencie;

Et taciti fecere tamen convitia vultus.

OVID. *Am.* 1. i. *El.* vii. 21.

The face though silent, yet silent upbraydes-it:

he never felt the sweet contentment, and the sence-mooving earnestnes, to have beaten and tarnished them by the vigorous exercise of an officious and active night. When I have perceived any of them weary of me, I have not presently accused her lightnes: but made question whether I

had not more reason to quarrell with nature, for handling me so unlawfully and uncivilly,

LUS. *Priap. Penul.* i. *ib.* viii. 4.

Si non longa satis, si non benè mentula crassa :
Nimirum sapiunt videntque parvam
Matronæ quoque mentulam illibenter,

and to my exceding hurt. Each of my pieces are equally mine, one as another: and no other doth more properly make me a man then this. My whole pourtraiture I universally owe unto the world. The wisedom and reach of my lesson, is all in truth, in liberty, in essence: Disdaining in the catalogue of my true duties, these easie, faint, ordinary and provinciall rules. All naturall, constant and generall; whereof civility and cerimonie, are daughters, but bastards. We shall easily have the vices of apparance, when we shall have had those of essence. When we have done with these, we run upon others, if we finde need of running. For there is danger, that we devise new offices, to excuse our negligence toward naturall offices, and to confound them. That it is so, we see that in places

where faults are bewitchings, bewitchings are but faults. That among nation, where lawes of seemelinesse are more rare and slacke, the primitive lawes of common reason are better observed: The innumerable multitude of so manifold duties stifling, languishing and dispersing our care. The applying of our selves unto sleight matters, with-draweth us from such as be just. Oh how easie and plausible a course do these superficiall men undertake, in respect of ours. These are but shadowes under which we shroud, and wherwith we pay one another. But we pay not, but rather heape debt on debt, unto that great and dreadfull judge, who tucks up our clouts and rags from about our privie parts, and is not squeamish to view all over, even to our most inward and secret deformities: a beneficiall decencie of our maidenly bashfulnesse, could it debar him of this tainted discovery. To conclude, he that could recover or un-besot man, from so scrupulous and verball a superstition, should not much prejudice the world. Our life consisteth partly in folly,

and partly in wisedome. Hee that writes of it but reverently and regularly, omits the better moytie of it. I excuse me not unto my selfe, and if I did, I would rather excuse my excuses, then any fault else of mine: I excuse my selfe of certaine humors, which in number I hold stronger, then those which are on my side: In consideration of which I will say thus much more (for I desire to please all men; though it be a hard matter, *Esse unum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum, ac sermonum et voluntatum varietatem:* "That one man should be applyable to so great variety of manners, speeches and dispositions") that they are not to blame me, for what I cause auctorities received and approved of many ages, to utter: and that it is not reason, they should for want of ryme denie me the dispensation, which ever some of our churchmen usurpe and enjoy in this season; whereof behold here two, and of the most pert and cocket amongst them:

Rimula dispeream, ni monogramma tua est.
Un vit d'amy la contente et bien traicte.

How many others more? I love modestie; nor is it from judgement that I have made choise of this kinde of scandalous speech; t'is nature hath chosen the same for me: I commend it no more, then all formes contrary unto received custome: onely I excuse it; and by circumstances as well generall as particular, would qualifie the imputation. Well, let us proceed. Whence commeth also the usurpation of soveraine auctoritie, which you assume unto your selves, over those that favour you to their cost and prejudice,

Si furtiva dedit nigra munuscula nocte,
If she have giv'n by night,
The stolne gift of delight,

CATUL. *El.* iv 145.

that you should immediately invest withall the interest, the coldnes, and a wedlock auctority? It is a free bargaine, why doe you not undertake it on those termes you would have them to keepe? There is no prescription upon voluntarie things. It is against forme, yet it is true, that I have in my time managed this match (so farre as

the nature of it would allow) with as much conscience as any other whatsoever, and not without some colour of justice: and have given them no further testimonie of mine affection, then I sincerely felt: and have lively displaide unto them the declination, vigor and birth of the same; with the fits and deferring of it: A man cannot alwayes keepe an even pace, nor ever go to it alike. I have bin so sparing to promise, that (as I thinke) I have paid more then either I promised or was due. They have found mee faithfull, even to the service of their inconstancie: I say an inconstancie avowed, and somtimes multiplied. I never broke with them, as long as I had any hold, were it but by a thredsend: and whatsoever occasion they have given me by their ficklenes, I never fell off unto contempt and hatred: for such familiarities, though I attaine them on most shamefull conditions, yet do they bind mee unto some constant good-will. I have sometime given them a taste of choller and indiscreet impacience, upon occasions of

their wyles, sleights, close-convayances, controversies and contestations betweene us ; for, by complexion, I am subject to hastie and rash motions, which often empeach my trafficke, and marre my bargaines, though but meane and of small worth. Have they desired to essay the libertie of my judgement, I never dissembled to give them fatherly councell and biting advise, and shewed my selfe ready to scratch them where they itched. If I have given them cause to complaine of mee, it hath bin most for finding a love in me, in respect of our moderne fashion, foolishly conscientious. I have religiously kept my word in things : that I might easily have bin dispensed with. They then yeelded sometimes with reputation, and under conditions, which they would easily suffer to bee infringed by the conqueror. I have more than once, made pleasure in hir greatest efforts strik saile unto the interest of their honor : and where reason urged me, armed them against me, so that they guided themselves more safely and severly by my prescriptions, if they once freely

yeelded unto them, then they could have done by their owne. I have as much as I could endevored to take on my selfe the charge and hazard of our appointments, thereby to discharge them from all imputation ; and ever contrived our meetings in most hard, strange and unsuspected manner, to be the lesse mistrusted, and (in my seeming) the more accessible. They are opened, especially in those parts, where they suppose themselves most concealed. Things lest feared are lest defended and observed. You may more securely dare, what no man thinks you would dare, which by difficulty becommeth easie. Never had man his approches more impertinently genitale. This way to love, is more according to discipline. But how ridiculous unto our people, and of how small effect, who better knowes then I ? yet will I not repent me of it ; I have no more to loose by the matter,

HOR. *Car.* l. i. *Od.* v. 13.

——— *me tabula sacer*
Votiva paries, indicat uvida,
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

By tables of the vowes which I did owe
Fastned thereto the sacred wall doth showe ;
I have hung-up my garments water-wet,
Unto that God whose power on seas is great.

It is now high time to speake plainely of it. But even as to another, I would perhaps say : My friend thou dotest, the love of thy times hath small affinitie with faith and honestie ;

——— *hæc si tu postules*
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,
Quàm si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias.

TER. *Eunuc.* act i. sc. 1.

If this you would by reason certaine make,
You doe no more, then if the paines you take,
To be starke mad, and yet to thinke it reason fit.

And yet if I were to beginne anew, it should bee by the very same path and progresse, how fruitlesse soever it might proove unto me. Insufficiency and sottishnesse are commendable in a discommendable action. As much as I seperate my selfe from their humour in that, so much I approach unto mine owne. Moreover, I did never suffer my selfe to bee wholly given over to that sport ; I therewith

pleased, but forgot not my selfe. I ever kept that little understanding and discretion, which nature hath bestowed on me, for their service and mine; some motion towards it, but no dotage. My conscience also was engaged therein, even unto incontinency and excesse, but never unto ingratitude, treason, malice or cruelty. I bought not the pleasure of this vice at all rates; and was content with it's owne and simple cost. *Nullum intra se vitium est:* "There is no vice contained in it selfe." I hate almost alike a crouching and dull lasinesse, and a toilesome and thorny working. The one pincheth, the other dulleth mee. I love wounds as much as bruses, and blood wipes as well as dry-blowes. I had in the practise of this solace, when I was fitter for it, an even moderation betweene these two extremities. Love is a vigilant, lively and blithe agitation: I was neither troubled nor tormented with it, but heated and distempred by it: There wee must make a stay; It is onely hurtfull unto fooles. A young man demanded of

SEN. *Epi.* XCV.

the Philosopher Panetius, whether it would beseeme a wiseman to be in love ; "Let wise men alone" (quoth he) "but for thee and me that are not so, it were best not to engage our selves into so stirring and violent a humor, which maks us slaves to others and contemptible unto our selves." He said true, for we ought not entrust a matter so dangerous, unto a mind that hath not wherwith to sustaine the approaches of it, nor effectually to quaile the speach of Agesilaus ; "That wisedome and love cannot live together :" It is a vaine occupation (t'is true) unseemely, shamefull and lawlesse : But using it in this manner, I esteeme it wholsome and fit to rouze a dull spirit and a heavy body: and as a phisition experienced, I wold prescribe the same unto a man of my complexion and forme, as soone as any other receipt, to keepe him awake and in strength, when he is well in yeares ; and delay him from the gripings of old age. As long as wee are but in the suburbes of it, and that our pulse yet beateth.

JUVEN. *Sat.* iii. 26. *Dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,*
Dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
Porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.

While hoarie haires are new, and ould-age fresh and straight,
While Lachesis hath yet to spin, while I my waight
Beare on my feete, and stand, without staffe in my hand.

Wee had need to bee sollicited and tickled, by some biting agitation, as this is. See but what youth, vigour and jollitie it restored unto wise Anacreon. And Socrates, when hee was elder then I am, speaking of an amorous object: leaning (saies hee) shoulder to shoulder, and approaching my head unto his, as we were both together looking upon a booke, I felt, in truth, a sudden tingling or prickling in my shoulder, like the biting of some beast, which more then five daies after tickled mee, whereby a continuall itching glided into my heart. But a casuall touch, and that but in a shoulder, to enflame, to distemper and to distract a minde, enfeebled, tamed and cooled through age; and of all humane

mindes the most reformed. And why not I pray you? Socrates was but a man, and would neither bee nor seeme to bee other. Philosophie contends not against naturall delights, so that due measure bee joined therewith; and alloweth the moderation, not the shunning of them. The efforts of her resistance are employed against strange and bastard or lawlesse ones. She saith, that the bodyes appetites ought not to be encreased by the minde. And wittily adviseth us, that we should not excite our hunger by sacietie; not to stuffe, insteed of filling our bellies: to avoide all jovissance that may bring us to want: and shunne all meat and drink, which may make us hungry or thirstie. As in the service of love, she appoints us to take an object, that onely may satisfie the bodies neede, without once mooving the mind: which is not there to have any doing, but onely to follow and simply to assist the body. But have I not reason to thinke, that these precepts, which (in mine opinion are elsewhere somewhat rigorous) have

reference unto a body which doth his office; and that a dejected one, as a weakned stomacke may be excused if he cherish and sustaine the same by arte, and by the entercourse of fantazie, to restore it the desires, the delights and blithnesse, which of it selfe it hath lost? May we not say, that there is nothing in us, during this earthly prison, simply corporall, or purely spirituall? and that injuriouslie we dismember a living man? that there is reason wee should carrie our selves in the use of pleasure, at least as favourablie as we doe in the pangs of griefe? For example, it was vehement, even unto perfection, in the soules of Saints, by repentance. The body had naturally a part therein, by the right of their combination, and yet might have but little share in the cause: and were not contented that it should simply follow and assist the afflicted soule: they have tormented the body it selfe with convenient and sharpe punishments; to the end that one with the other, the body and the soule might a vie plunge man into sorrow; so

much the more saving, by how much the more smarting. In like case, in corporall pleasures, is it not injustice to quaile and coole the minde and, say, it must thereunto be entrained, as unto a forced bond, or servile necessitie? Shee should rather hatch and cherish them, and offer and invite it selfe unto them; the charge of swaying rightly belonging to her. Even as in my conceit, it is her part, in her proper delights, to inspire and infuse into the body all sense or feeling which his condition may beare, and indevour that they may be both sweet and healthy for him. For, as they say, tis good reason; that the body follow not his appetites to the mindes prejudice or dammage. But why is it not likewise reason, that the minde should not follow hers to the bodies danger and hurt? I have no other passion that keepes mee in breath. What avarice, ambition, quarels, sutes in law, or other contentions worke and effect in others, who as my selfe have no assigned vacation, or certaine leisure, love would performe more commodiously: It

would restore me the vigilancie, sobrietie, grace and care of my person; and assure my countenance against the wrinckled frowns of age (those deformed and wretched frownes) which else would blemish and deface the same: It would reduce me to serious, to sound and wise studies, whereby I might procure more love, and purchase more estimation: It would purge my minde from despaire of it selfe, and of its use, acquainting the same againe with it selfe: It would divert me from thousands of irksome tedious thoughts, and melancholie carking cares, wherewith the doting idlenesse and crazed condition of our age doth charge and comber us: It would restore and heat, though but in a dreame, the blood which nature forsaketh: It would uphold the drooping chinne, and somewhat strengthen or lengthen the shrunken sinewes, decaied vigour, and dulled lives-blithenesse of silly wretched man, who gallops apace to his ruine. But I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to attaine to such a commoditie: Through weakenesse and long

experience, our taste is growne more tender, more choise and more exquisite. We challenge most, when we bring least; we are most desirous to choose, when we least deserve to be accepted: And knowing our selves to bee such, we are lesse hardy and more distrustfull: Nothing can assure us to be beloved, seeing our condition and their quality. I am ashamed to be in the companie of this greene, blooming and boyling youth;

Cujus in indomito constantior inguine nervus,
Quàm nova collibus arbor inhæret:

HOR. *Epod.* xii. 19.

Why should we present our wretchednesse admid this their jollitie?

Possint ut juvenes visere fervidi
Multo non sine risu,
Dilapsam in cineres facem;

HOR. *Car.* I. iv. *Od.* xiii. 26.

That hot young men may goe and see,
Not without sport and mery glee,
Their fire-brands turn'd to ashes be.

They have both strength and reason on their side: let us give them place: we have no longer holde fast. This bloome of

budding beauty, loves not to be handled by such nummed, and so clomsie hands, nor would it be dealt-with by meanes purely materiall or ordinarie stuffe. For, as that ancient Philosopher answered one that mocked him, because hee could not obtaine the favour of a yongling, whom he suingly pursued: "My friend" (quoth hee) "the hooke bites not at such fresh cheese." It is a commerce needing relation and mutuall correspondency: other pleasures that we receive, may bee requitted by recompences of different nature: but this cannot be repaid but with the very same kinde of coyne. Verily, the pleasure I do others in this sport, doth more sweetly tickle my imagination, then that is done unto me. Now if no generous minde, can receive pleasure where he returneth none; it is a base minde that would have all duty and delights to feed with conference, those under whose charge hee remaineth. There is no beautie, nor favour, nor familiarity so exquisite, which a gallant minde should desire at this rate. Now if women can do

us no good but in pittie, I had much rather not to live at all, then to live by almes. I would I had the priviledge to demande of them, in the same stile I have heard some beg in Italy: *Fate bene per voi:* "Doe some good for your selfe:" or after the manner that Cyrus exhorted his souldiers: "Whosoever loveth mee, let him follow mee." Consort your selfe, will some say to me, with those of your owne condition, whom the company of like fortune will yeelde of more easie accesse. Oh sottish and wallowish composition;

———*nolo*
Barbam vellere mortuo leoni.
I will not pull (though not a fearde)
When he is dead a Lions beard.

MAR. l. x. *Epig.* xc. 9.

Xenophon useth for an objection and accusation against Menon, that in his love hee dealt with fading objects. I take more sensuall pleasure by onely viewing the mutuall, even proporcioned and delicate commixture of two yong beauties; or only to consider the same in mine imagination, then

if my selfe should be second in a lumpish, sad and disproporcioned conjunction. I resigne such distasted and fantastical appetites unto the Emperour Galba, who medled with none but cast, worne, hard-old flesh, and to that poore slave,

OVID. *Pont.* l. i. *El.* v. 49.

O ego dii faciant talem te cernere possim,
Charâque mutatis oscula ferre comis,
Amplectique meis corpus non pingue lacertis.

Gods graunt I may beholde thee in such case,
And kisse thy chang'd locks with my dearest grace,
And with mine armes thy limmes not fat embrace.

And amongst blemishing-deformities, I deeme artificiall and forced beautie to be of the chiefest. Emanez a young lad of Chios, supposing by gorgeous attires to purchase the beautie, which nature denied him, came to the Philosopher Aresilaus, and asked of him, whether a wise man could be in love, or no? "Yes, marrie" (quoth hee) "so it were not with a painted and sophisticate beautie, as thine is." The fowlenesse of an olde knowne woman is in my seeming, not so aged nor so ill-favoured, as one that's

painted and sleeked. Shall I bouldly speake it, and not have my throate cut for my labour? Love is not properly nor naturallie in season, but in the age next unto infancie:

Quam si puellarum insereres choro,
Mille sagaces falleret hospites,
Discrimen obscurum, solutis
Crinibus, ambiguoque vultu.

HOR. *Car.* l. ii. *Od.* v. 12.

Whom if you should in crue of wenches place,
With haire loose-hanging, and ambiguous face,
Strangely the undiscern'd distinction might
Deceive a thousand strangers of sharpe sighte.

No more is perfect beautie. For, whereas Homer extends it untill such time as the chinne begins to bud, Plato himselfe hath noted the same for very rare, and the cause for which the Sophister Dion termed youthes budding hayres; Aristogitons and Harmodii, is notoriouslie knowne. In man-hoode I finde it alreadie to bee somewhat out of date, much more in olde age.

Impotunus enim transvolat aridas
Quercus.

Ibid. l. iv. *Od.* xiii. 9.

Importune love doth over-flie
The Okes with withered olde-age drie.

And Margaret Queene of Navarre, lengthens much (like a woman) the priviledge of women: Ordaining thirty yeares to be the season, for them to change the title of faire into good. The shorter possession we allow it over our lives, the better for us. Behold it's behaviour. It is a princock boy, who in his schoole, knowes not, how far one proceeds against all order: study, exercise, custome and practise, are paths to insufficiencie: the novices beare all the sway; *Amor ordinem nescit:* "Love knowes or keeps no order." Surely it's course hath more garbe, when it is commixt with unadvisednes and trouble: faultes and contrary successes, give it edge and grace: so it be eager and hungry, it little importeth whither it bee prudent. Observe but how he staggers, stumbleth and fooleth; you fetter and shackle him when you guide him by arte and discretion: and you force his sacred liberty, when you submit him to those bearded, grim and tough-hard hands. Moreover I often heare them display this intelligence as absolutely spirituall disdain-

ing to draw into consideration the interest which all the sences have in the same. All serveth to the purpose: But I may say, that I have often seen some of us excuse the weakenesse of their minds, in favour of their corporall beauties; but I never saw them yet, that in behalfe of the mindes-beauties, how sound and ripe soever they were, would afforde an helping hand unto a body, that never so little falleth into declination. Why doth not some one of them long to produce that noble Socraticall brood; or breed that precious gem, between the body and the minde, purchasing with the price of her thighes a Philosophicall and spirituall breed and intelligence? which is the highest rate she can possibly value them at. Plato appointeth in his lawes, that he who performeth a notable and worthy exploite in warre, during the time of that expedition, should not be denide a kisse or refused any other amorous favour, of whomsoever he shall please to desire it, without respect either of his ill-favourdnes, deformitie, or age. What he deemeth so just

and allowable in commendation of Military valour, may not the same be thought as lawfull in commendation of some other worth? and why is not some one of them possessed with the humor to preocupate on hir companions the glory of this chaste love? chaste I may well say;

VIRG. *Geor.* l. iii. 98.

——— *nam si quando ad prælia ventum est,*
Ut quondam stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis
In cassum furit.

If once it come to handy-gripes; as great,
But force-lesse fire in stubble; so his heate
Rageth amaine, but all in vaine.

Vices smoothered in ones thought, are not the woorst. To conclude this notable commentarie, escaped from me by a flux of babling: a flux sometimes as violent as hurtfull,

CATUL. *Eleg.* i. 19.

Ut missum sponsi furtivo munere malum,
Procurrit casto virginis è gremio:
Quod miseræ oblitæ molli sub veste locatum,
Dum adventu matris prosilit, excutitur,
Atque illud prono præceps agitur decursu,
Huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.

As when some fruite by stealth sent from hir friend,

From chaste lap of a virgin doth descend,
Which by hir, under hir soft aprone plast,
Starting at mothers comming thence is cast:
And trilling downe in hast doth head-long goe,
A guiltie blush in hir sad face doth floe.

I say, that both male and female, are cast in one same moulde; instruction and custome excepted, there is no great difference betweene them: Plato calleth them both indifferently to the societie of all studies, exercises, charges and functions of warre and peace, in his Commonwealth. And the Philosopher Antisthenes took away al distinction betweene their vertue and ours. It is much more easie to accuse the one sexe, then to excuse the other. It is that which some say proverbialie: "Ill may the Kill call the Oven burnt taile."

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

Of Coaches.

IT is easie to verifie, that excellent authors, writing of causes doe not only make use of those which they imagine true, but eftsoones of such as themselves beleeve not: alwayes provided they have some invention and beautie. They speake sufficiently, trulie and profitably, if they speake ingeniouslie. We cannot assure our selves of the chiefe cause: we hudle up a many together, to see whether by chance it shall be found in that number,

LUCRET. l. vi. 700.

Namque unam dicere causam,
Non satis est, verum plures unde una tamen sit.
Enough it is not one cause to devise,
But more, whereof that one may yet arise.

Will you demand of me, whence this custome ariseth, to blesse and say God helpe to those that sneese? Wee produce three sortes of winde; that issuing from belowe is too undecent; that from the mouth,

implieth some reproach of gourmandise; the third is sneesing: and because it commeth from the head, and is without imputation, wee thus kindly entertaine it: Smile not at this subtiltie, it is (as some say) Aristotles. Mee seemeth to have read in Plutarch (who of all the authors I know, hath best commixt arte with nature, and coupled judgement with learning) where he yeeldeth a reason, why those which travell by sea, doe sometimes feele such qualmes and risings of the stomacke, saying, that it proceedeth of a kinde of feare: having found out some reason, by which hee prooveth, that feare may cause such an effect. My selfe who am much subject unto it, knowe well, that this cause doth nothing concerne me. And I know it, not by argument, but by necessarie experience, without alleaging what some have tolde mee, that the like doth often happen unto beasts, namely unto swine, when they are farthest from apprehending any danger: and what an acquaintance of mine hath assured mee of himselfe, and who is greatly subject unto

it, that twice or thrice in a tempestuous storme, being surprised with exceeding feare, all manner of desire or inclination to vomit had left him. As to that ancient good fellow; *Pejus vexabar quàm ut periculum mihi succurreret:* "I was worse vexed then that danger could helpe me." I never apprehended feare upon the water; nor any where else (yet have I often had just cause offred me, if death it selfe may give it) which eyther might trouble or astonie mee. It proceedeth sometimes as well from want of judgement, as from lacke of courage. All the dangers I have had, have beene when mine eyes were wide-open, and my sight cleare, sound and perfect: For, even to feare, courage is required. It hath sometimes steaded me, in respect of others, to direct and keepe my flight in order, that so it might be, if not without feare, at least without dismay and astonishment. Indeede it was mooved, but not amazed nor distracted. Undanted mindes marche further, and represent flight, not onely temperate, setled and sound, but also fierce and bolde.

Report we that which Alcibiades relateth of Socrates his companion in armes. I found (saith he) after the route and discomfiture of our armie, both him and Lachez in the last ranke of those that ranne away, and with all safetie and leasure considered him, for I was mounted upon an excellent good horse, and he on foote, and so had we combatted all day. I noted first, how in respect of Lachez, he shewed both discreete judgement and undanted resolution: then I observed the undismaide bravery of his marche, nothing different from his ordinarie pace: his looke orderly and constant, duly observing and heedily judging what ever passed round about him: sometimes viewing the one, and sometimes looking on the other both friendes and enemies, with so composed a manner, that he seemed to encourage the one and menace the other, signifying, that whosoever should attempt his life, must purchase the same, or his blood at a high-valued rate; and thus they both saved themselves; for, men doe not willingly graple with these; but follow such

as shew or feare or dismay. Loe heare the testimonie of that renowned Captaine, who teacheth us what wee daily finde by experience, that there is nothing doth sooner cast us into dangers, then an inconsiderate greedinesse to avoide them. *Quo timoris minus est, eo minus fermè periculi est:* "The lesse feare there is most commonly, the lesse danger there is." Our people is to blame, to say, such a one feareth death, when it would signifie, that he thinkes on it, and doth foresee the same. Foresight doth equally belong as well to that which concerneth us in good, as touche us in evill. To consider and judge danger, is in some sort, not to bee danted at it. I doe not finde my selfe sufficiently strong to withstand the blow and violence of this passion of feare, or of any other impetuosity, were I once therewith vanquished and deterred, I could never safely recover my selfe. Hee that should make my minde forgoe hir footing, could never bring her unto her place againe. She doth over lively sound, and over

deepely search into hirselfe: And therefore never suffers the wound which pierced the same, to be throughly cured and consolidated. It hath beene happy for me: that no infirmity could ever yet displace her. I oppose and present my selfe in the best warde I have, against all charges and assaults that beset mee. Thus the first that should beare mee away, would make mee unrecoverable. I encounter not two: which way soever spoile should enter my holde, there am I open, and remedilesly drowned. Epicurus saith, that a wise man can never passe from one state to its contrary. I have some opinion answering his sentence, that hee who hath once beene a very foole, shall at no time proove very wise. God sends my colde answerable to my clothes, and passions answering the meanes I have to indure them. Nature having discovered me on one side, hath covered me on the other. Having disarmed me of strength, she hath armed me with insensibility, and a regular or soft apprehension. I cannot long endure (and

lesse could in my youth) to ride either in coach or litter, or to go in a boate; and both in the Citty and country I hate all manner of riding, but a horse-back: And can lesse endure a litter, then a coach, and by the same reason, more easily a rough agitation upon the water, whence commonly proceedeth feare, then the soft stirring a man shall feele in calme weather. By the same easie gentle motion, which the oares give, convaying the boate under us, I wot not how, I feele both my head intoxicated and my stomacke distempered: as I cannot likewise abide a shaking stoole under me. When as either the saile, or the gliding course of the water doth equally carry us away, or that wee are but towed, that gently, gliding and even agitation, doth no whit distemper or hurte mee. It is an interrupted and broken motion, that offendes mee; and more when it is languishing. I am not able to displaye it's forme. Phisitions have taught mee to binde and gird my selfe with a napkin or swath round about the lower part of my belly, as a

remedy for this accident; which as yet I have not tride, being accustomed to wrestle and with stand such defects as are in me; and tame them by my selfe. Were my memory sufficientlye informed of them, I would not thinke my time lost, heere to set downe the infinite variety, which histories present unto us, of the use of coaches in the service of warre: divers according to the nations, and different according to the ages: to my seeming of great effect and necessitye. So that it is wondrouslye strange, how wee have lost all true knowledge of them; I will onely aleadge this, that even lately in our fathers time, the Hungarians did very availefully bring them into fashion, and profitablie set them a worke against the Turkes; every one of them containing a Targattier and a Muskettier, with a certaine number of harquebuses or calivers, ready charged; and so ranged, that they might make good use of them: and all over covered with a pavesado, after the manner of a Galliotte. They made the front of their battaile with

three thousand such coaches: and after the Cannon had playde, caused them to discharge and shoote off volie of smale shotte uppon their enemies, before they shoulde know or feele, what the rest of their forces could doe: which was no smale advancement; or if not this, they mainely drove those coaches amidde the thickest of their enemies squadrons, with purpose to breake, disroute and make waye through them. Besides the benefit and helpe they might make of them, in any suspicious or dangerous place, to flanke their troupes marching from place to place: or in hast to encompasse, to embarricado, to cover or fortifie any lodgement or quarter. In my time, a gentleman of quality, in one of our frontieres, unwealdy and so burly of bodye, that hee coulde finde no horse able to beare his waight, and having a quarrell or deadly fude in hand, was wont to travaile up and downe in a coach made after this fashion, and found much ease and good in it. But leave wee these warlike coaches, as if their nullity were not sufficiently knowne by

better tokens; The last kings of our first race were wont to travell in chariots drawne by foure oxen. Marke Antonie was the first, that caused himselfe, accompanied with a minsterell harlot to bee drawne by Lyons fitted to a coach. So did Heliogabalus after him, naming himselfe Cibele the mother of the Gods; and also by Tigers, counterfetting God Bacchus: who sometimes would also bee drawne in a coach by two Stagges: and an-other time by foure mastive Dogs: and by foure naked wenches, causing himselfe to bee drawne by them in pompe and state, hee being all naked. The Emperour Firmus, made his coach to bee drawne by Estriges of exceeding greatnesse, so that hee rather seemed to flye, then to roule on wheeles. The strangenesse of these inventions, doth bring this other thing unto my fantasie. That it is a kinde of pusilanimity in Monarkes, and a testimony that they doe not sufficiently know what they are, when they labour to shew their worth, and endevour to appeare unto the world, by excessive

and intolerable expences. A thing, which in a strange country might somewhat bee excused; but amongst his native subjects, where hee swayeth all in all, hee draweth from his dignity the extreamest degree of honour, that hee may possible attaine unto. As for a gentleman, in his owne private house to apparrell himselfe richly and curiously, I deeme it a matter vaine and superfluous; his house, his houshold, his traine and his kitchin doe sufficiently answere for him. The counsell which Isocrates giveth to his King (in my conceite) seemeth to carry some reason: when hee willeth him to bee richly-stored and stately adorned with mooveables and housholde-stuffe, forsomuch as it is an expence of continuance, and which descendeth even to his posterity or heires: And to avoyde all magnificences, which presently vanish both from custome and memory. I loved when I was a yonger brother to set my selfe foorth and bee gaye in cloathes, though I wanted other necessaries; and it became mee well: There are some on whose backes

their ritch Robes weepe, or as wee say their rich cloathes are lyned with heavye debts. We have divers strange tales of our auncient Kings frugalitie about their owne persons, and in their gifts : great and farre renouned Kings both in credit, in valour and in fortune. Demosthenes mainely combates the law of his Cittie, who assigned their publique money to be imployed about the stately setting forth of their playes and feastes : He willeth that their magnificence should bee seene in the quantity of tall ships well manned and appointed, and armies well furnished. And they have reason to accuse Theophrastus, who in his booke of riches established a contrarie opinion, and upholdeth such a quality of expences, to be the true fruite of wealth and plenty. They are pleasures (saith Aristotle) that onely touch the vulgar and basest communalty, which as soone as a man is satisfied with them, vanish out of minde ; and whereof no man of sound judgement or gravity can make any esteeme. The imployment of it, as more profitable,

just and durable would seeme more royall, worthy and commendable, about portes, heavens, fortifications and walles; in sumptuous buildings, in churches, hospitales, colledges, mending of heighwayes and streetes, and such like monuments: in which things Pope Gregory the thirteenth shall leave aye-lasting and commendable memory unto his name: and wherein our Queene Catherin should witnes unto succeeding ages her naturall liberality and exceeding bounty, if her meanes were answarable to her affection. Fortune hath much spighted mee to hinder the structure and brake-off the finishing of our new-bridge in our great Citty; and before my death to deprive mee of all hope to see the great necessity of it set forwarde againe. Moreover, it appeareth unto subjects, spectators of these triumphs, that they have a show made them of their owne riches, and that they are feasted at their proper charges: For, the people doe easily presume of their kings, as wee doe of our servants; that they should take care plenteously to

provide us of whatsoever wee stand in neede of, but that on their behalfe they should no way lay handes on it. And therefore the Emperor Galba, sitting at supper, having taken pleasure to heare a musicion play and sing before him, sent for his casket, out of which he tooke a handful of Crowns and put them into his hand, with these wordes; "Take this not as a guift of the publique money, but of mine owne private store." So is it, that it often commeth to passe, that the common people have reason to grudge, and that their eyes are fedde, with that which he should feede their belly. Liberality it selfe, in a soveraigne hand is not in her owne luster: private men have more right, and may challenge more interest in her. For, taking the matter exactlye as it is, a King hath nothing that is properlye his owne; hee oweth even himselfe to others. Authority is not given in favour of the authorising, but rather in favour of the authorised. A superiour is never created for his owne profit, but rather for the benefit of the inferiour: And a Phisi-

tion is instituted for the sicke, not for himselfe. All Magistracie, even as each arte, rejecteth her end out of her selfe. *Nulla ars in se versatur:* "No arte is all in it selfe." Wherefore the governours and overseers of Princes childhood or minoritie, who so earnestly endevour to imprint this vertue of bountie and liberalitie in them; and teach them not to refuse any thing, and esteeme nothing so well imploied, as what they shall give (an instruction which in my daies I have seene in great credit) either they preferre and respect more their owne profit then their masters; or else they understand not aright to whom they speake. It is too easie a matter to imprint liberalitie in him, that hath wherewith plenteously to satisfie what he desireth at other mens charges. And his estimation being directed not according to the measure of the present, but according to the qualitie of his meanes, that exerciseth the same, it commeth to proove vaine in so puissant hands. They are found to be prodigall, before they be liberall. Therefore is it but of small com-

mendation, in respect of other royall vertues. And the only (as said the tyrant Dionysius) that agreed and squared well with tyrannie it selfe. I would rather teach him the verse of the ancient labourer,

τῇ χειρὶ δεῖ σπείρειν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅλῳ τῷ θυλακῷ.
Not whole sackes, but by the hand
A man should sow his seed i' the land.

PLUT. *De Athen. Eras.* chil. iii. cent. i. ad. 32.

That whosoever will reape any commoditie by it, must sow with his hand, and not powre out of the sacke: that corne must be discreetly scattered, and not lavishly dispersed: And that being to give, or to say better, to pay and restore to such a multitude of people, according as they have deserved, he ought to be a loyall, faithfull, and advised distributer thereof. If the liberalitie of a Prince be without heedy discretion and measure, I would rather have him covetous and sparing. Princely vertue seemeth to consist most in justice. And of all parts of justice, that doth best and most belong to Kings, which accompanieth liberalitie. For, they have it par-

ticularly reserved to their charge; whereas all other justice, they happily exercise the same by the intermission of others. Immoderate bountie, is a weake meane to acquire them good will: for, it rejecteth more people, then it obtaineth: *Quo in plures usus sis, minus in multos uti possis. Quid autem est stultius, quàm, quod libenter facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis?* "The more you have used it to many, the lesse may you use it to many more: And what is more fond, then what you willingly would doe, to provide you can no longer doe it?" And if it be emploied without respect of merit, it shameth him that receiveth the same, and is received without grace. Some Tyrants have beene sacrificed to the peoples hatred, by the very hands of those, whom they had rashly preferred and wrongfully advanced: such kinde of men, meaning to assure the possession of goods unlawfully and indirectly gotten, if they shew to hold in contempt and hatred, him from whom they held them, and in that combine themselves unto the vulgar

CIC. *Off.* l. i.

judgement and common opinion. The subjects of a Prince, rashly excessive in his gifts, become impudently excessive in begging: they adhere, not unto reason, but unto example. Verily we have often just cause to blush, for our impudencie. We are over-paid according to justice, when the recompence equalleth our service: for, doe we not owe a kinde of naturall dutie to our Princes? If he beare our charge, he doth over-much; it sufficeth if hee assist it: the over-plus is called a benefit, which cannot be exacted; for the very name of liberalitie implieth libertie. After our fashion, we have never done; what is received is no more reckoned of: only future liberalitie is loved: Wherefore the more a Prince doth exhaust himselfe in giving, the more friends he impoverisheth. How should he satisfie intemperate desires, which increase according as they are replenished? Who so hath his mind on taking, hath it no more on what he hath taken. Covetousnesse hath nothing so proper, as to be ungratefull. The example of Cyrus shall not ill fit this

place, for the behoofe of our kings of these daies, as a touch-stone, to know whether their gifts be well or ill emploied ; and make them perceive, how much more happilie that Emperour did wound and oppresse them, then they doe. Whereby they are afterward forced to exact and borrow of their unknowen subjects, and rather of such as they have wronged and aggrieved, then of those they have enriched and done good unto : and receive no aids, where anything is gratitude, except the name. Crœsus upbraided him with his lavish bountie, and calculated what his treasure would amount unto, if he were more sparing and close-handed. A desire surprised him to justifie his liberalitie, and dispatching letters over all parts of his dominions, to such great men of his estate, whom hee had particularly advanced, intreated every one to assist him with as much money as they could, for an urgent necessitie of his ; and presently to send it him by declaration : when all these count-bookes or notes were brought him, each of his friends supposing that it sufficed

not, to offer him no more then they had received of his bounteous liberalitie, but adding much of their owne unto it, it was found, that the said summe amounted unto much more, then the niggardly sparing of Crœsus. Whereupon Cyrus said, "I am no lesse greedy of riches, then other Princes, but am rather a better husband of them. You see with what small venture I have purchased the unvaluable treasure of so many friends, and how much more faithfull treasurers they are to mee, then mercenarie men would be, without obligation and without affection: and my exchequer or treasurie better placed then in paltery coafers; by which I draw upon mee the hate, the envie and the contempt of other Princes." The ancient Emperours were wont to draw some excuse, for the superfluitie of their sports and publike shewes, for so much as their authoritie did in some sort depend (at least in apparance) from the will of the Roman people; which from all ages was accustomed to be flattered by such kindes of spectacles and excesse.

But they were particular-ones who had bred this custome, to gratifie their concitizens and fellowes: especially with their purse, by such profusion and magnificence. It was cleane altered, when the masters and chiefe rulers came once to imitate the same. *Pecuniarum translatio à justis dominis ad alienos non debet liberalis videri:* "The passing of money from right owners to strangers should not seeme liberalitie." Philip, because his sonne endevoured by gifts to purchase the goodwill of the Macedonians, by a letter seemed to be displeased and chid him in this manner: "What? Wouldest thou have thy subjects to account thee for their purse-bearer, and not repute thee for their King? Wilt thou frequent and practise them? Then doe it with the benefits of thy vertue, not with those of thy coafers." Yet was it a goodly thing, to cause a great quantity of great trees, all branchie and greene, to be farre brought and planted in plots yeelding nothing but drie gravell, representing a wilde shady forest, divided in due seemely proportion:

CIC. *Off.* l. i.

And the first day, to put into the same a thousand Estriges, a thousand Stagges, a thousand wilde Boares, and a thousand Buckes, yeelding them over to be hunted and killed by the common people: the next morrow in the presence of all the assembly to cause a hundred great Lions, a hundred Leopards, and three hundred huge Beares to be baited and tugg'd in peeces: and for the third day, in bloodie manner and good earnest to make three hundred couple of Gladiators or Fencers, to combat and murder one another; as did the Emperour Probus. It was also a goodly shew, to see those wondrous huge Amphitheaters all enchased with rich marble, on the out side curiously wrought with carved statues, and all the inner side glittering with precious and rare embellishments,

Baltheus en gemmis, en illita porticus auro.
A belt beset with gemmes behold,
Behold a walke bedawb'd with gold.

All the sides round about that great void, replenished and environed from the ground

unto the very toppe, with three or foure score rankes of steps and seats, likewise all of marble covered with faire cushions,

JUVEN. *Sat.* iii. 153.

——— *exeat, inquit,*
Si pudor est, et depulvino surgat equestri,
Cujus res legi non sufficit.

If shame there be, let him be gone, he cries,
And from his knightly cushion let him rise,
Whose substance to the law doth not suffice.

Where might conveniently bee placed an hundred thousand men, and all sit at ease. And the plaine-ground-worke of it, where sports were to bee acted, first by Art to cause the same to open and chap in sunder with gaps and cranishes, representing hollow cavernes which vomited out the beasts appointed for the spectacle: That ended, immediately to overflow it all with a maine deepe sea, fraught with store of sea-monsters and other strange fishes, all over-laid with goodly tall ships, ready rigd and appointed to represent a Sea-fight; and thirdly, suddenly to make it smooth and drie againe, for the combat of Gladiators: and fourthly, being forthwith cleansed, to strewe it over

with Vermillion and Storax, insteede of gravell, for the erecting of a solemne banket, for all that infinite number of people: the last act of one onely day.

——— quoties nos descendentis arenæ
Vidimus in partes, ruptaque voragine terræ
Emersisse feras, et iisdem sæpe latebris
Aurea cum croceo creverunt arbuta libro.
Nec solum nobis silvestria cernere monstra
Contigit, æquoreos ego cum certantibus ursis
Spectavi vitulos, et equorum nomine dignum,
Sed deforme pecus.

How oft have we beheld wilde beasts appeare
From broken gulfes of earth, upon some parte
Of sande that did not sinke ? how often there
And thence did golden boughs ore saffron'd starte ?
Nor onely saw we monsters of the wood,
But I have seene Sea-calves whom Beares withstood,
And such a kinde of beast as might be named
A horse, but in most foule proportion framed.

They have sometimes caused an high steepy mountaine to arise in the midst of the sayde Amphitheaters, all over-spred with fruitfull and flourishing trees of all sortes, on the top whereof gushed out streames of water, as from out the source

of a purling spring. Other times they have produced therein a great tall Ship floating up and downe, which of it selfe opened and split a sunder, and after it had disgorged from out it's bulke, foure or five hundred wilde beasts to bee baited, it closed and vanished away of it selfe, without any visible helpe. Sometimes from out the bottome of it, they caused streakes and purlings of sweete water to spoute up, bubling to the highest top of the frame, and gently watring, sprinkling and refreshing that infinite multitude. To keepe and cover themselves from the violence of the wether, they caused that huge compasse to bee all over-spred, sometimes with purple sailes, all curiously wrought with the needle, sometimes of silke, and of some other colour, in the twinkling of an eye, as they pleased, they displaid and spred, or drewe and pulled them in againe.

Quamvis non modico caleant spectacula sole
Vela reducuntur cum venit Hermogenes.

Though fervent Sunne make't hotte to see a play,
When linnen-thieves come, sailes are kept away.

The nets likewise, which they used to put before the people, to save them from harme and violence of the baited beasts, were woven with golde.

——auro quoque torta refulgent
Retia.

Nets with golde enterlaced,
Their shewes with glittring graced.

If anything bee excusable in such lavish excesse, it is, where the invention and strangenesse breedeth admiration, and not the costlie charge. Even in those vanities, wee may plainely perceive how fertile and happy those former ages were of other manner of wittes, then ours are. It hapneth of this kinde of fertilitie, as of all other productions of nature. Wee may not say what nature employed then the utmost of hir power. Wee goe not, but rather creepe and stagger here and there: wee goe our pace. I imagine our knowledge to bee weake in all sences: wee neither discerne far-forward, nor see much backward. It embraceth little, and liveth not long: It

is shorte both in extension of time, and in amplenesse of matter or invention.

HOR. *Car.* l. iv. *Od.* ix. 25.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique, longa
Nocte.

Before great Agamemnon and the rest,
Many liv'd valiant, yet are all supprest,
Unmoan'd, unknowne, in darke oblivions nest.

LUCRET. l. v. 326.

Et supera bellum Trojanum et funera Trojæ,
Multi alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ.

Beside the Trojan warre, Troyes funerall night,
Of other things did other Poets write.

And Solons narration concerning what he had learned of the Ægiptian Priests, of their states long-life, and manner how to learne and preserve strange or forraine histories, in mine opinion is not a testimony to bee refused in this consideration. *Si interminatam in omnes partes magnitudinem regionum videremus, et temporum, in quam se injiciens animus et intendens ita latè longeque peregrinatur, ut nullam oram ultimi videat, in qua possit insistere: in hæc immensitate infinita, vis innumerabilium*

CIC. *Nat. Deo.* l. 1.

appareret formarum: "If wee behold an unlimited greatnesse on all sides both of regions and times, whereupon the minde casting it selfe and intentive doth travell farre and neare, so as it sees no bounds of what is last, whereon it may insist; in this infinite immensitie there would appeare a multitude of innumerable formes." If whatsoever hath come unto us by report of what is past were true, and knowne of any body, it would bee lesse then nothing, in respect of that which is unknowne. And even of this image of the world, which whilest wee live therein, glideth and passeth away, how wretched, how weake and how short is the knowledge of the most curious? Not onely of the particular events, which fortune often maketh exemplar and of consequence: but of the state of mighty common wealths, large Monarkies and renowned nations, there escapeth our knowledge a hundred times more, then commeth unto our notice. Wee keepe a coyle, and wonder at the miraculous invention of our artilerie, and rest amazed at the

rare devise of Printing: when as unknowne to us, other men, and an other end of the worlde named China, knew and had perfect use of both, a thousand yeares before. If wee sawe as much of this vaste worlde, as wee see but a least part of it, it is very likely wee should perceive a perpetuall multiplicity, and ever-rouling vicissitude of formes. Therein is nothing singular, and nothing rare, if regard bee had unto nature, or to say better, if relation bee had unto our knowledge: which is a weake foundation of our rules, and which dooth commonly present us a right-false Image of things. How vainely doe wee now-adaies conclude the declination and decrepitude of the worlde, by the fond arguments wee drawe from our owne weakenesse, drooping and declination:

LUCRET. l. ii. 1159. *Jamque adeo affecta est ætas, affectaque, tellus:*
And now both age and land
So sicke affected stand.

And as vainly did another conclude it's birth and youth, by the vigour he perceived

in the wits of his time, abounding in novelties and invention of divers Arts:

Verùm, ut opinor, habet novitatem, summa, recensque LUCRET. l. v. 330.
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit:
Quare etiam quædam nunc artes expoliuntur,
Nunc etiam augescunt, nunc addita navigiis sunt
Multa.

But all this world is new, as I suppose,
Worlds nature fresh, nor lately it arose:
Whereby some arts refined are in fashion,
And many things now to our navigation
Are added, daily growne to augmentation.

Our world hath of late discovered another (and who can warrant us whether it be the last of his brethren, since both the Dæmons, the Sybilles, and all we have hitherto beene ignorant of this?) no lesse large, fully-peopled, all-things-yeelding, and mighty in strength, than ours: nevertheless so new and infantine, that he is yet to learne his A. B. C. It is not yet full fifty yeeres that he knew neither letters, nor waight, nor measures, nor apparell, nor corne, nor vines. But was all naked, simply-pure, in Natures lappe, and lived

but with such meanes and food as his mother-nurce affoorded him. If wee conclude aright of our end, and the foresaid Poet of the infancie of his age, this late-world shall but come to light, when ours shall fall into darknesse. The whole Universe shall fall into a palsey or convulsion of sinnowes : one member shall bee maimed or shrunken, another nimble and in good plight. I feare, that by our contagion, wee shall directly have furthered his declination, and hastened his ruine ; and that wee shall too dearely have sold him our opinions, our new-fangles and our Arts. It was an unpolluted, harmelesse infant world ; yet have wee not whipped and submitted the same unto our discipline, or schooled him by the advantage of our valour or naturall forces ; nor have wee instructed him by our justice and integritie ; nor subdued by our magnanimitie. Most of their answers, and a number of the negotiations wee have had with them, witnesse that they were nothing short of us, nor beholding to us for any excellencie of naturall wit or perspicuitie,

concerning pertinencie. The woonderfull, or as I may call it, amazement-breeding magnificence of the never-like seene Cities of Cusco and Mexico, and amongst infinite such like things, the admirable Garden of that King, where all the Trees, the Fruits, the Hearbes and Plants, according to the order and greatnesse they have in a Garden, were most artificially framed in golde: as also in his Cabinet, all the living creatures that his Countrey or his Seas produced, were cast in gold; and the exquisite beautie of their workes, in precious Stones, in Feathers, in Cotton and in Painting; shew that they yeelded as little unto us in cunning and industrie. But concerning unfained devotion, awefull observance of lawes, unspotted integritie, bounteous liberalitie, due loyaltie and free libertie, it hath greatly availed us, that wee had not so much as they: By which advantage, they have lost, cast-away, sold, undone and betraied themselves.

Touching hardinesse and undaunted courage, and as for matchlesse constancie,

unmooved assurednesse, and undismaied resolution against paine, smarting, famine and death it selfe; I will not feare to oppose the examples which I may easily finde amongst them, to the most famous ancient examples, wee may with all our industrie discover in all the Annalles and memories of our knowen old World. For, as for those which have subdued them, let them lay aside the wiles, the policies and stratagems, which they have emploied to cozen, to cunny-catch, and to circumvent them; and the just astonishment which those nations might justly conceive, by seeing so unexpected an arrivall of bearded men; divers in language, in habite, in religion, in behaviour, in forme, in countenance; and from a part of the world so distant, and where they never heard any habitation was: mounted upon great and unknowen monsters; against those, who had never so much as seene any horse, and lesse any beast whatsoever apt to beare, or taught to carry either man or burden; covered with a shining and hard skinne, and armed with

slicing-keene weapons and glittering armour: against them, who for the wonder of the glistring of a looking-glasse or of a plaine knife, would have changed or given inestimable riches in Gold, Precious Stones and Pearles; and who had neither the skill nor the matter wherewith at any leasure, they could have pierced our steele: to which you may adde the flashing fire and thundring roare of shotte and Harguebuses; able to quell and daunt even Cæsar himselfe, had hee beene so sodainely surprised and as little experienced as they were: and thus to come unto, and assault silly-naked people, saving where the invention of weaving of Cotton cloath was knowne and used: for the most altogether unarmed, except some bowes, stones, staves and wodden bucklers: unsuspecting poore people, surprised under colour of amity and well-meaning faith, over-taken by the curiosity to see strange and unknowne things: I say, take this disparity from the conquerors, and you deprive them of all the occasions and cause of so many unexpected victories. When I

consider that sterne-untamed obstinacy, and undanted vehemence, wherewith so many thousandes of men, of women and children, doe so infinite times present themselves unto inevitable dangers, for the defence of their Gods and liberty: This generous obstinacie to endure all extremities, all difficulties and death, more easily and willingly, then basely to yeelde unto their domination, of whome they have so abhominably beene abused: some of them choosing rather to starve with hunger and fasting, being taken, then to accept foode at their enemies hands, so basely victorious: I perceave, that whosoever had undertaken them man to man, without ods of armes, of experience or of number, should have had as dangerous a warre, or perhaps more, as any we see amongst us.

Why did not so glorious a conquest happen under Alexander, or during the time of the ancient Greekes and Romanes? or why befell not so great a change and alteration of Empires and people, under such handes as would gently have polished, reformed

and incivilized, what in them they deemed to be barbarous and rude: or would have nourished and fostered those good seedes, which nature had there brought foorth: adding not onely to the manuring of their grounds and ornaments of their citties, such artes as wee had; and that no further then had beene necessary for them, but therewithall joyning unto the originall vertues of the country, those of the ancient Grecians and Romanes? What reputation and what reformation would all that farre-spredding worlde have found, if the examples, demeanors and pollicies, wherewith wee first presented them, had called and allured those uncorrupted nations, to the admiration and imitation of vertue, and had established betweene them and us a brotherly society and mutuall correspondencie? How easie a matter had it beene, profitably to reforme, and christianly to instruct, mindes yet so pure and new, so willing to bee taught, beeing for the most part endowed with so docile, so apt and so yeelding naturall beginnings? whereas contrarywise, wee have

made use of their ignorance and inexperience, drawe them more easily unto treason, fraude, luxurie, avarice and all manner of inhumanitie and cruelty, by the example of our life, and patterne of our customes. Who ever raised the service of merchandize and benefit, of trafficke to so high a rate? So many goodly cities ransacked and razed; so many nations destroyed and made desolate; so infinite millions of harmelesse people of all sexes, states and ages, massacred, ravaged and put to the sworde; and the richest, the fayrest and the best part of the world topsiturvied, ruined and defaced for the trafficke of Pearles and Pepper: Oh mecanicall victoryes, oh base conquest. Never did blinde ambition, never did greedy revenge, publike wrongs or generall enmities, so moodily enrage, and so passionately incense men against men, unto so horrible hostilities, bloody dissipation, and miserable calamities.

Certaine Spaniardes coasting alongst the Sea in search of mines, fortuned to land in a very fertile, pleasant and well peopled country: unto the inhabitants whereof they

declared their intent, and shewed their accustomed perswasions; saying: "That they were quiet and well-meaning-men, comming from farre-countries, being sent from the King of Castile, the greatest king of the habitable earth, unto whom the Pope, representing God on earth, had given the principalitie of all the Indies. That if they would become tributaries to him, they should bee most kindly used and courteously entreated: They required of them victualles for their nourishment: and some golde for the behoofe of certaine Physicall experiments. Moreover, they declared unto them, the beleeving in one onely God, and the trueth of our religion, which they perswaded them to embrace, adding thereto some minatorie threates." Whose answer was this: "That happily they might be quiet and well-meaning, but their countenance shewed them to be otherwise: As concerning their King, since he seemed to begge, he shewed to be poore and needie: And for the Pope, who had made that distribution, he expressed himselfe a

man loving dissention, in going about to give unto a third man, a thing which was not his owne: so to make it questionable and litigious amongst the auncient possessors of it. As for victualles, they should have part of their store: And for golde, they had but little, and that it was a thing they made very small accoumpt of, as meerely unprofitable for the service of their life, whereas all their care was but how to passe it happily and pleasantly: and therefore, what quantity soever they should finde, that onely excepted which was employed about the service of their Gods, they might bouldly take it. As touching one onely God, the discourse of him had very well pleased them: but they would by no meanes change their religion, under which they had for so long time lived so happily: and that they were not accustomed to take any counsell, but of their friendes and acquaintance. As concerning their menaces, it was a signe of want of judgement, to threaten those, whose nature, condition, power and meanes was to them unknowne. And therefore they

should with all speed hasten to avoyd their dominions, forsomuch as they were not wont to admit or take in good part the kindneesses and remonstrances of armed people, namely of strangers, otherwise they would deale with them, as they had done with such others, shewing them the heads of certaine men sticking upon stakes about their Cittie, which had lately beene executed." Loe here an example of the stammering of this infancy.

But so it is, neither in this, nor in infinite other places, where the Spaniards found not the marchandise they sought for, neither made stay or attempted any violence, whatsoever other commodity the place yeelded: witnesse my Canibales. Of two the most mighty and glorious Monarkes of that world, and peradventure of all our Westerne partes, Kings over so many Kings: the last they deposed and overcame: He of Peru, having by them beene taken in a battell, and set at so excessive a ransome, that it exceedeth all beliefe, and that truely paide: and by his conversation having given them

apparant signes of a free, liberall, undanted and constant courage, and declared to be of a pure, noble, and well composed understanding; a humour possessed the conquerors, after they had most insolently exacted from him a Million, three hundred five and twenty thousand, and five hundred waights of golde; besides the silver and other precious things, which amounted to no lesse a summe (so that their horses were all shood of massive golde) to discover (what disloyalty or treachery soever it might cost them) what the remainder of this kings treasure might be, and without controlment enjoy what ever he might have hidden or concealed from them. Which to compasse, they forged a false accusation and proofe against him; That he practised to raise his provinces, and intended to induce his subjects to some insurrection, so to procure his liberty. Whereupon, by the very judgement of those who had complotted this forgery and treason against him, hee was condemned to be publikely hanged and strangled: having first made him to redeeme the

torment of being burned alive, by the baptisme which at the instant of his execution in charity they bestowed upon him. A horrible and the like never heard of accident: which neverthelesse he undismayedly endured with an unmooved manner, and truly-royall gravity, without ever contradicting himselfe eyther in countenance or speech. And then, somewhat to mittigate and circumvent those silly unsuspecting people amazed and astonished at so strange a spectacle, they counterfetted a great mourning and lamentation for his death and appointed his funeralls to be solemnly and sumptuously celebrated.

The other King of Mexico, having a long time manfully defended his besieged Citie, and in that tedious siege, shewed what ever pinching-sufferance and resolute-perseverance can effect, if ever any courageous Prince or warre-like people shewed the same; and his disastrous successe having delivered him alive into his enemies hands, upon conditions to bee used as beseemed a King: who during the time of his imprisonment, did never

make the least shew of any thing unworthy that glorious title. After which victory, the Spaniards not finding that quantitie of gold, they had promised themselves, when they had ransacked and ranged all corners, they by meanes of the cruellest tortures and horriblest torments they could possibly devise, beganne to wrest and draw some more from such prisoners as they had in keeping. But unable to profit any thing that waye, finding stronger hearts then their torments, they in the end fell to such moody outrages, that contrary to all law of nations, and against their solemne vowes and promises, they condemned the King himselfe and one of the chiefest Princes of his Court, to the Racke, one in presence of another: The Prince, environed round with hot burning coales, being overcome with the exceeding torment, at last in most pittious sort turning his dreary eyes toward his Master, as if hee asked mercy of him for that hee could endure no longer; The king fixing rigorously and fiercely his lookes upon him, seeming to upbraide him with his re-

misnesse and pusilanimity, with a sterne and setled voyce uttered these few wordes unto him: "What? supposest thou I am in a colde bath? am I at more ease then thou art?" Whereat the silly wretch immediately fainted under the torture, and yeelded up the ghost. The king halfe rosted, was carryed away: Not so much for pitty (for what ruth could ever enter so barbarous mindes, who upon the surmised information of some odde peece or vessell of golde, they intended to get, would broyle a man before their eyes, and not a man onely, but a king, so great in fortune and so renouned in desert?) but forsomuch as his unmatched constancie did more and more make their inhumane cruelty ashamed: They afterward hanged him, because he had couragiously attempted by armes to deliver himselfe out of so long captivity and miserable subjection; where he ended his wretched life, worthy an high minded and never danted Prince. At another time, in one same fire, they caused to be burned all alive foure hundred common men, and three score principall Lordes of a

province, whom by the fortune of warre they had taken prisoners. These narrations we have out of their owne bookes: for they doe not onely avouche, but vauntingly publish them. May it be, they doe it for a testimony of their justice or zeale toward their religion? Verily they are wayes over-different and enemies to so sacred an ende. Had they proposed unto themselves to enlarge and propagate our religion, they would have considered, that it is not amplified by possession of landes, but of men: and would have beene satisfied with such slaughters, as the necessity of warre bringeth, without indifferently adding thereunto so bloody a butchery, as upon savage beastes; and so universall as fire or sword could ever attaine unto; having purposely preserved no more then so many miserable bond slaves, as they deemed might suffice for the digging, working and service of their mines: So that divers of their chieftaines have beene executed to death, even in the places they had conquered, by the appointment of the Kings of Castile, justly offended at the seld-seene

horror of their barbarous demeanours, and well nigh all disesteemed, contemned and hated. God hath meritoriously permitted, that many of their great pillages, and ill gotten goods, have eyther beene swallowed up by the revenging Seas in transporting them, or consumed by the intestine warres and civill broyles, wherewith themselves have devoured one another ; and the greatest part of them have beene over-whelmed and buryed in the bowels of the earth, in the very places they found them, without any fruite of their victory. Touching the objection which some make, that the receipte, namely in the handes of so thrifty, wary and wise a Prince, doth so little answer the fore-conceaved hope, which was given unto his predecessors and the said former aboundance of riches, they mette withall at the first discovery of this new-found world, (for although they bring home great quantitye of gold and silver, we perceive the same to be nothing, in respect of what might bee expected thence) it may bee answered, that the use of mony was there altogether un-

knowne; and consequently, that all their golde was gathered together, serving to no other purpose, then for shew, state and ornament, as a mooveable reserved from father to sonne by many puissant Kings, who exhausted all their mines; to collect so huge a heape of vessels and statues for the ornament of their Temples, and embellishing of their Pallaces: whereas all our golde employed in commerce and trafficke betweene man and man. Wee mince and alter it into a thousand formes: wee spend, wee scatter and disperce the same to severall uses. Suppose our Kings should thus gather and heape up all the golde they might for many ages hoarde up together, and keepe it close and untouch't. Those of the kingdome of Mexico were somewhat more encivilized, and better artistes, then other nations of that worlde. And as wee doe, so judged they, that this Univers was neare his end: and tooke the desolation wee brought amongst them as an infallible signe of it. They beleeved the state of the worlde, to bee divided into five ages, and in the life of

five succeeding Sunnes, whereof foure had already ended their course or time; and the same which now shined upon them, was the fifth and last. The first perished together with all other creatures, by an universall inundation of waters. The second by the fall of the heavens upon us which stifled and overwhelmed every living thing: in which age they affirme the Giants to have beene, and shewed the Spaniards certaine bones of them, according to whose proportion the stature of men came to bee of the height of twenty handfuls. The third, was consumed by a violent fire, which burned and destroyed all. The fourth by a whirling emotion of the ayre and windes, which with the violent fury of it selfe, remooved and overthrew divers high mountaines: saying, that men dyed not of it, but were transformed into Munkeis. (Oh what impressions doth not the weaknesse of mans beliefe admit?) After the consummation of this fourth Sunne, the world continued five and twenty yeares in perpetuall darkenesse: in the fifteenth of

which one man and one woman were created, who renewed the race of man-kinde. Ten yeares after, upon a certaine day, the Sunne appeared as newly created: from which day beginneth ever since the calculation of their yeares. On the third day of whose creation, died their ancient Gods, their new ones have day by day beene borne since. In what manner this last Sunne shall perish, my aucthor could not learne of them. But their number of this fourth change, doth jumpe and meete with that great conjunction of the Starres, which eight hundred and odde yeares since, according to the Astrologians supposition, produced divers great alterations and strange novelties in the world. Concerning the proud pompe and glorious magnificence, by occasion of which I am fallen into this discourse, nor Greece, nor Rome, nor Ægipt, can (bee it in profit, or difficultie or nobility) equall or compare sundrie and divers of their workes. The cawcy or high-way which is yet to bee seene in Peru, errected by the Kings of that countrie, stretching

from the citty of Quito, unto that of Cusco (containing three hundred leagues in length) straight, even, and fine, and twentie paces in breadth, curiously paved, raysed on both sides with goodly, high masonrie-walles, all along which, on the inner side there are two continuall running streames, pleasantly beset with beautious trees, which they call Moly. In framing of which, where they mette any mountaines or rockes, they have cut, raised and levelled them, and filled all hollow places with lime and stone. At the ende of every dayes journey, as stations, there are built stately great pallaces, plentiously stored with all manner of good victuals, apparrell and armes, as well for daylie way-fairing men, as for such armies that might happen to passe that way. In the estimation of which worke I have especially considered the difficulty, which in that place is particularly to bee remembred. For they built with no stones that were lesse then ten foote square: They had no other meanes to cary or transport them, then by meere strength of armes to

draw and dragge the carriage they needed: they had not so much as the arte to make scaffolds; nor knew other devise, then to raise so much earth or rubish, against their building, according as the worke riseth, and afterwarde to take it away againe. But returne we to our coaches. In steade of them, and of all other carrying beastes they caused themselves to be carryed by men, and upon their shoulders. This last King of Peru, the same day hee was taken, was thus carried upon rafters or beames of massive Golde, sitting in a faire chaire of state, likewise all of golde, in the middle of his battaile. Looke how many of his porters as were slaine, to make him fall (for all their endevour was to take him alive) so many others, and as it were avye, tooke and under-went presently the place of the dead: so that he could never be brought down or made to fall, what slaughter so ever was made of those kinde of people, untill such time as a horseman furiously ranne to take him by some parte of his body, and so pulled him to the ground.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Of the Incommoditie of Greatnesse.

SINCE we cannot attaine unto it, let us revenge our selves with railing against it: yet is it not absolute railing, to finde faulte with any thing: There are defects found in all things, how faire soever in show, and desirable they be. It hath generally this evident advantage, that when ever it pleaseth it will decline, and hath well-nigh the choise of one and other condition. For a man doth not fall from all heights; divers there are, whence a man may descend without falling. Verily, mee seemeth, that we value it at too high a rate: and prize over-deare the resolution of those, whom we have either seene or heard, to have contemned, or of their owne motion rejected the same. Hir essence is not so evidently commodious, but a man may refuse it without wonder. Indeed I finde the labour very hard in suffering of

evils; but in the contentment of a meane measure of fortune, and shunning of greatnesse, therein I see no great difficulty. In my conceit, it is a vertue, whereunto my selfe, who am but a simple ninny, might easily attaine, and without great contention. What shall they doe, who would also bring into consideration, the glory, which accompanieth this refusall, wherein may fall more ambition, then even in the desire and absolute enjoying of greatnesse? Forsomuch as ambition is never better directed according to it selfe, then by a straying and unfrequented path, I sharpen my courage toward patience, and weaken the same against desire. I have as much to wish for as another, and leave my wishes as much liberty and indiscretion: but yet, it never came into my minde, to wish for Empire, for royalty or eminency of high and commanding fortunes. I aime not that way: I love my selfe too well. When I thinke to grow, it is but meanely; with a forced and coward advancement; fit for me: yea in resolution, in wisedome, in health, in beauty

and also in riches. But this credite, this aspiring reputation, this overswaying authority, suppresseth my imagination. And cleane opposite to some other, I should peradventure love my selfe better, to be the second or third man in Perigot, then the first in Paris: At least, without faining, I had rather be the third man in Paris, then the first in charge. I will neither contend with an Usher of a doore, as a silly unknowen man; nor with gaping and adoration make a Lane through the throng as I passe. I am enured to a meane calling; mediocrity best fitteth me, as well by my fortune, as by mine owne humor. And have shewed by the conduct of my life and course of my enterprises, that I have rather sought to avoid, then otherwise to embrace beyond the degree of fortune that at my birth it pleased God to call me unto. Each naturall constitution, is equally just and easie. My minde is so dull and slowe, that I measure not good fortune according to her height, but rather according to her facility. And if my hart

be not great enough, it is ratably free and open, and who biddeth me, bouldly to publish my weaknesse. Should any will me, on the one part, to conferre and consider the life of L. Thorius Balbus, a worthy gallant man, wise, faire, goodly, healthie, of good understanding, richly-plentious in all maner of commodities and pleasures, leading a quiet easefull life, altogether his owne, with a minde armed, and well prepared against death, superstition, griefes, cares and other encombrances of humane necessity ; dying in his olde age, in an honourable battell, with his weapons in his hand, for the defence of his country ; and on the other side the life of M. Rugulus, so high and great, as all men know, together with his admirable and glorious ende : the one unmentioned and without dignity, the other exemplare and wonderfull renouned : truely I would say what Cicero saith of it, had I the gift of well-speaking as hee had. But if I were to sute them unto mine, I would also say, that the former is as much agreeing to my quality,

and to the desire I endevour to conforme my quality unto, as the second is farre beyond it. That to this I cannot attaine but by veneration; and to the other I would willingly attaine by custome. But returne we to our temporall greatnesse, whence we have digressed. I am distasted of all mastry, both active and passive. Otanes one of the seaven that by right might chalenge the crowne, or pretend the kingdome of Persia, resolved upon such a resolution as I should easily have done the like: which was, that he utterly renounced all maner of claime he might in any sort pretend unto that crowne, to his fellow competitores, were it either by election or chance: alwaies provided that both himselfe and all his, might live in that Empire, free from all subjections, and exempted from all maner of commandement, except that of the ancient lawes: and might both chalenge all liberty, and enjoy all immunities, that should not prejudice them: being as impacient to command, as to be commanded. The sharpest and most dificile profession

of the world, is (in mine opinion) worthily to act and play the King. I excuse more of their faults, then commonly other men doe: and that in consideration of the downe-bearing waight of their immense charge, which much astonisheth me: It is a very hard task to keep a due measure, in so unmeasurable a power. Yet is it, that even with those, that are of a lesse excellent nature, it is a singular incitation to vertue, to be seated in such a place, where you shall doe no manner of good, that is not registred and recorded: And where the least well-dooing, extendeth to so many persons: And where your sufficiencie (as that of Preachers) is principally directed to the people; a weake and parciall judge: easilie to be beguiled, and easie to bee pleased. There are but few things, of which we may give a sincere judgement: for there bee very few, wherein in some sort or other, we are not particularly interessed. Superioritie and inferioritie, maistrie and subjection, are joyntly tied unto a naturall kinde of envie and con-

testation ; they must perpetually enter-spoile one another. I beleeve neither the one nor the other, concerning hir companions rights : let us suffer reason to speake of it, which is inflexible and impassible, when or how wee shall make an end. I was not long since reading of two Scottish bookes striving upon this subject. The popular makes the King to bee of worse condition then a Carter: and hee that extolleth Monarchie, placeth him both in power and soveraignty, many steps above the Gods. Now the incommoditie of greatnesse, which heere I have undertaken to note and speake of, (upon some occasion lately befalne mee) is this. There is peradventure nothing more pleasing to the commerce of men, then the Essayes, which wee through jealousie of honour or valour, make one against another, bee it in the exercise of the body or of the minde: wherein soveraigne greatnesse, hath no true or essentiall part. Verily, it hath often seemed unto mee, that through over much respect, Princes are therein used disdainefully and treated injuriouslie : For, the

thing whereat (in my youth) I was infinitely offended, was, that those which were trained and schooled with mee, should forbeare to doe it in good earnest, because they found mee unworthy to bee withstood or to resist their endevours. It is that wee dayly see to happen unto them; every man finding himselfe unworthy to force himselfe against them. If one perceive them never so little affected to have the victorie, there is none but will strive to yeelde it them, and that will not rather wrong his glory, then offend theirs: No man imployeth more diligence then needes hee must to serve their honour. What share have Princes in the throng, where all are for them? Mee thinkes I see those Paladines of former ages, presenting themselves in joustes, tiltings and combates, with bodies and armes enchanted. Brisson running against Alexander, counterfetted his course: Alexander chid him for it: but hee should have caused him to bee whipt. For this consideration, was Carneades wont to say, that "Princes children learn't nothing aright but

to mannage and ride horses ; forsomuch as in all other exercises, every man yeeldeth, and giveth them the victory : but a horse who is neither a flatterer nor a Courtier, will as soone throw the childe of a king as the sonne of a base porter." Homer hath beene forced to consent that Venus (so sweete a saint and delicate a Goddesse) should be hurt at the siege of Troy, thereby to ascribe courage and hardinesse unto her qualities never seene in those that are exempted from danger. The Gods themselves are fained to bee angry, to feare, to bee jealous, to greeve, to shew passion, and bee subject to mortall sence, thereby to honour them with the vertues which Poets devise and Philosophers invent amongst us : Nay, they are supposed to runne away, and to have a feeling of all our imperfections. Who doth not participate both hazard and difficulties, cannot justly pretend interest in the honour, or challenge share in the pleasure, that followeth dangerous actions or hazardous attemps. It is pitty a man should bee so powerfull, that all

things must yeeld and give place unto him. Such as are in so high eminencie of greatnesse, their fortune rejects society and conversation too farre from them ; shee placeth them in over remote and uncouth places. This easefull life and plausible facilitie to bring all under, and subject mens mindes, is an enemy to all manner of pleasure. It is a kinde of sliding, and not a going : It is to sleepe, and not to live. Conceave man accompanied with omnipotencie, you overwhelme him : hee must in begging manner crave some empeachment and resistance of you. His beeing and his good, is in want and indigence. Their good qualities are dead and lost : for, they are not heard but by comparison, and they are excluded : they have little knowledge of true praise, beeing beaten with so continuall and uniforme an approbation. Have they to doe with the simplest of their subjects ? they have no meane to take advantage of him, if hee but say ; It is because hee is my King, hee supposeth to have sufficiently expressed, and you must understand, that in so saying,

hee hath lent a helping hand to overthrow himselfe. This qualitie suppresseth and consumeth all other true and essentiall qualities: they are even drowned in the Royaltie; which gives them no leave, to make the offices of their charge to prevaile, except in such actions as directly concerne and stead the same. To be a King, is a matter of that consequence, that onely by it he is so. That strange glimmering and eye-dazeling light, which round about environeth, overcasteth and hideth him from us: our weake sight is thereby bleared and dissipated, as being filled and obscured by that greater and further-spredding brightnes. The Senate allotted the honor and prise of eloquence unto Tiberius; he refused it, supposing that if it had beene true, he could not revenge himselfe of so limited and partiall judgement. As we yeeld Princes all advantages of honor, so we aucthorize their defects and sooth-up their vices: not onely by approbation, but also by imitation. All Alexanders followers bare their heads sideling, as he did. And such as flattered

Dionysius, in his owne presence did run and justle one another, and either stumbled at, or over-threw what ever stood before their feete, to inferre; that they were as short-sighted or spur-blinde, as hee was. Naturall imperfections have sometimes served for commendation and favour. Nay I have seene deafnesse affected. And because the maister hated his wife, Plutarch hath seen courtiers to sue a divorce of theirs, whom they loved very well. And which is more, paillardise and all maner of dissolution hath thereby beene held in credit; as also disloyaltie, blasphemy, cruelty, heresie, superstition, irreligion, wantonnesse and worse, if worse may be. Yea by an example more dangerous, then that of Mithridates his flatterers, who forsomuch as their maister pretended to have skill in phisicke, and aspired to the honour of a good Physition, came to him to have their members incized and cauterized. For, these others suffer to have their soules cauterized; a much more precious and nobler part then the body. But to end where I began: Adrian the

Emperor debating with Favorinus the Philosopher about the interpretation of some word ; Favorinus did soone yeeld the victory unto him, his friends finding fault with him for it ; "You but jest, my maisters" (quoth he) "would you not have him to bee much wiser then I, who hath the absolute command over thirty legions?" Augustus writ some verses against Asinius Pollio, which Pollio hearing, he said, "I will hould my peace ; for, it is no wisedome to contend in writing with him, who may proscribe." And they had reason: For, Dionysius, because he could not equall Philoxenus in Poesie, nor match Plato in discourse, condemned the one to the stone-quaries, and sent the other to be sould as a slave in the Ile of Ægina.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

Of the Arte of Conferring.

IT is a custome of our law, to condemne some, for the warning of others. To condemne them because they have misdone, were folly, as saith Plato. For what is once done can never be undone: but they are condemned to the end that they should not offend againe, or that others may avoide the example of their offence. Hee who is hanged is not corrected, but others by him. Even so doe I. My errors are sometimes naturall, incorrigible and remedilesse. But whereas honest men profit the Common-wealth in causing themselves to be imitated, I shall happily benefit the same in making my selfe to be evitated.

HOR. *Ser.* l. i. sect. iv. 109.

Nonne vides Albi ut malè vivat filius, utque
Barrus inops? magnum documentum, ne patriam rem
Perdere quis velit.

Doe you not see, how that mans sonne lives badly,
That man's a begger by his spending madly ?
A lesson great, that none take joy : His patrimonie to destroy.

By publishing and accusing my imperfections, some man may peradventure learne to feare them. The partes I most esteeme in my selfe, reape more honour by accusing, then by commending my selfe. And that's the cause I more often fall into them againe, and rest upon them. But when all the cardes bee told, a man never speakes of himselfe, without losse. A mans own condemnations are ever increased : praises ever decreased. There may be some of my complexion, who am better instructed by contrariety then by similitude ; and more by escaping then by following. Cato senior had a speciall regard to this kind of discipline, when he said, that wisemen have more to learne of fooles, then fooles of wisemen. And that ancient player on the Lyra, whom Pausanias reporteth, to have beene accustomed to compell his

schollers sometimes to goe heare a bad Player, who dwelt right over-against him; where they might learne to hate his discordes and false measures. The horror of cruelty drawes me neerer unto clemency, then any patterne of clemencie can possibly win mee. A cunning rider or skilfull horseman doth not so properly teach mee, to sit well on horse-backe, as doth one of our Lawyers, or a Venetian by seeing him ride. And an ill manner of speech doth better reforme mine, then any well-polished forme of speaking. The sottish countenance of another, doth dayly advertise and forewarne me. That which pricketh, toucheth and rouzeth better, then that which delighteth. These times are fit to reforme us backward, more by dissenting then by consenting; more by difference then by accord. Being but little instructed by good examples, I make use of bad: the lesson of which is ordinary. I have endevoured, nay I have laboured to yeeld my selfe as pleasing and affable, as I saw others peevish and froward: as constant, as I saw others variable; as

gentle and milde, as I perceived others intractable and wild; and as good and honest, as I discerned others wicked and dishonest. But I proposed certaine invincible measures unto my selfe. The most fruitful and natural exercise of our spirit, is, in my selfe-pleasing conceit, conference. The use whereof, I finde to bee more delightsome, then any other action of our life: And that's the reason, why, if I were now forced to choose, (being in the minde I now am in) I would rather yeeld to loose my sight, then forgoe my hearing or my speech. The Athenians and also the Romans, did ever hold this exercise in high honor and reputation, namely in their Academies. And at this day, the Italians doe yet keepe a kinde of forme and trace of it, to their great profit, as may apparantly bee discerned by comparing their wits unto ours. The study and plodding on bookes, is a languishing and weake kinde of motion, and which heateth or earnesteth nothing; whereas conference doth both learne, teach and exercise at

once. If I conferre with a stubborne wit, and encounter a sturdy wrestler, he toucheth me to the quicke, hits me on the flanks, and pricks me both on the left and right side: his imaginations vanquish and confound mine. Jelousie, glory and contention, drive, cast and raise me above my selfe. And an unison or consent, is a qualitie altogether tedious and wearisome in conference. But as our minde is fortified by the communication of regular and vigorous spirits; it cannot well be expressed, how much it looseth and is bastardized, by the continuall commerce and frequentation, we have with base, weake and dull spirits. No contagion spreds it selfe further then that. I know by long experience what an ell of it is worth. I love to contest and discourse, but not with many, and only for my selfe. For, to serve as a spectacle unto great men, and by way of contention, for one to make a glorious shew of his ready wit and running tongue; I deeme it a profession farre unfitting a man of honor. Sottishnes is an ill quality, but not to be

able to endure it, and to fret and vex at it, as it hapneth to me, is another kinde of imperfection, which in opportunity is not much behinde sottishnes: and that's it I will now accuse in my selfe: I doe with great liberty and facilitie, enter into conference and disputation: forsomuch as opinion findes but a hard soile to enter and take any deepe roote in me. No propositions amaze me, no conceit woundeth me, what contrarietie soever they have to mine. There is no fantazie so frivolous or humour so extravagant, that in mine opinion is not sortable to the production of humane wit. We others, who debarre our judgement of the right to make conclusions, regard but negligently the diverse opinions: and if wee lend it not our judgement, wee easily affoord it our eares. Where one scale of the ballance is altogether empty, I let the other waver too and fro, under an old wives dreames. And me seemeth, I may well be excused, if I rather accept an odde number, then an even: Thursday in respect of Friday, if I had rather make a twelfth

or fourteenth at a table, then a thirteenth: if when I am travelling I would rather see a Hare coasting, then crossing my way: and rather reach my left, then my right foote, to be shod. All such fond conceits, now in credit about us, deserve at least to be listned unto. As for me, they only beare away inanity, and surely they do so. Vulgar and casuall opinions are yet of some waight, which in nature are somthing els then nothing. And who wadeth not so far into them, to avoide the vice of superstition, falleth happily into the blame of wilfulnesse. The contradictions then of judgements, doe neither offend nor moove, but awaken and exercise me. Wee commonly shunne correction whereas we should rather seeke and present our selves unto it, chiefly when it commeth by the way of conference, and not of regency. At every opposition, wee consider not whether it be just; but be it right or wrong, how we may avoide it: In steede of reaching our armes, we stretch forth our clawes unto it. I should endure to be rudely handled and checked by my

friends, though they should call me foole, coxcombe or say I raved. I love a man that doth stoutly expresse himselfe, amongst honest and worthy men and whose wordes answer his thoughts. We should fortifie and harden our hearing, against the tendernesse of the cerimonious sound of wordes. I love a friendly society and a virile and constant familiarity: An amitie, which in the earnestnesse and vigor of it's commerce, flattereth it selfe: as love in bitings and bloody scratchings. It is not sufficiently generous or vigorous, except it bee contentious and quarelous: If she be civilised and a skilfull artiste: if it feare a shocke or free encounter, and have hir starting hoales or forced by-wayes. *Neque enim disputari sine reprehensione potest:* "Disputation cannot be held without reprehension." When I am impugned or contraried, then is mine attention and not mine anger, stirred up; I advance my selfe toward him, that doth gainesay and instruct me. The cause of truth, ought to be the common cause, both to on and other:

What can he answer? The passion of choller hath already wounded his judgement: trouble, before reason hath seazed upon it. It were both profitable and necessary, that the determining of our disputations, might be decided by way of wagers; and that there were a materiall marke of our losses: that we might better remember and make more accoumpt of it: and that my boy might say unto me: "Sir, if you call to minde; your contestation, your ignorance and your selfe-wilfulnesse, at severall times, cost you a hundred crownes the last yeare:" I feast, I cherrish and I embrace truth, where and in whom soever I finde it, and willingly and merily yeeld my selfe unto hir; as soone as I see but hir approach, though it bee a farre-off, I lay downe my weapons and yeeld my selfe vanquished. And alwayes provided, one persist not or proceede therein, with an over imperious stiffnesse or commanding surlinesse; I am well pleased to be reprooved. And I often accomodate my selfe unto my accusers, more by reason of civilitie,

then by occasion of amendment: loving by the facilitie of yeelding, to gratifie and foster their liberty, to teach or advertise mee. It is notwithstanding no easie matter to draw men of my times unto it. They have not the courage to correct, because they want the hart to endure correction: And ever speake with dissimulation in presence one of another. I take so great a pleasure to bee judged and knowne, that it is indifferent to me, in whether of the two formes I be so. Mine owne imagination doth so often contradict and condemne it selfe, that if another doe it, all is one unto me; especially seeing, I give his reprehension no other aucthoritie then I list. But I shall breake a straw or fall at ods with him, that keepes himselfe so aloft; as I know some, that will fret and chafe if their opinions be not believed, and who take it as an injury, yea and fall out with their best friends, if they will not follow it. And that Socrates ever smiling, made a collection of such contradictions as were opposed to his discourse, one might say,

his force was cause of it; and that the advantage being assuredly to fall on his side, he tooke them as a subject of a new victory. Neverthelesse we see on the contrary, that nothing doth so nicely yeeld our sence unto it as the opinion of preheminence and disdaine of the adversary. And that by reason, it rather befits the weakest to accept of oppositions in good part, which restore and repaire him. Verily I seeke more the conversation of such as curbe me, then of those that feare me. It is an unsavory and hurtfull pleasure, to have to doe with men, who admire and give us place. Antisthenes commended his children, never to bee beholding unto, or thanke any that should commend them. I feele my selfe more lustie and cranke for the victory I gaine over my selfe, when in the heate or fury of the combate, I perceive to bend and fall under the power of my adversaries reason, then I am pleased with the victory, I obtaine of him by his weakenesse. To conclude, I receave all blowes and allow all attaints given directly, how

weake soever: but am very impacient at such as are strucken at randan and without order, I care but little for the matter, and with me opinions are all one, and the victory of the subject in a manner indifferent. I shall quietly contest a whole day, if the conduct of the controversie be followed with order and decorum. It is not force nor subtiltie, that I so much require, as forme and order. The forme and order, dayly seene in the altercations of Shepheards, or contentions of shop prentise-boyes; but never amongst us; If they part or give one another over, it is with incivility: and so doe we. But their wrangling, their brawling and impacience, cannot make them to forgoe or forget their theame.

Their discourse holdes on his course. If they prevent one another, if they stay not for, at least they understand one another. A man doth ever answere sufficiently well for mee, if hee answere what I say. But when the disputation is confounded and order-lesse, I quit the matter, and betake me to the forme, with spight and indiscretion:

and embrace a kinde of debating, teasty, headlong, malicious and imperious, whereat I afterward blush. It is impossible to treate quietly and dispute orderly with a foole. My judgement is not onely corrupted under the hand of so imperious a maister, but my conscience also. Our disputations ought to be forbidden and punished, as other verball crimes. What vice raise they not, and heape up together, beeing ever swayed and commaunded by choller? First wee enter into enmity with the reasons, and then with the men. Wee learne not to dispute, except it be to contradict: and every man contradicting and being contradicted, it commonly followeth, that the fruit of disputing, is to loose and to disanull the trueth. So Plato in his common wealth, forbiddeth foolish, unapt and base-minded spirits, to undertake that exercise. To what purpose goe you about to quest or enquire that which is with him, who hath neither good pace nor proceeding of woorth? No man wrongs the subject, when he quits

the same, for want of meanes to treat or mannage it. I meane not a scholasticall and artist meane, but intend a naturall meane, and of a sound understanding. What will the end bee? one goeth Eastward, and another Westward: They loose the principall, and stray it in the throng of incidents. At the end of an houres wrangling, they wot not what they seeke for: one is high, another low, and another wide. Some take holde of a word, some of a similitude. Some forget what was objected against them, so much are they engaged in the pursuite and thinke to follow themselves, and not you. Some finding themselves weake-backt, feare all, refuse all, and at the very entrance mingle the subject and confound the purpose: or in the heate of the disputation, mutine to holde their peace altogether: through a spightfull ignorance, affecting a proud kinde of contempt, or a foolish modesty avoyding of contention. Provided that one strike and hit, hee careth not how open hee lie. Another compteth his

wordes, and wayeth them for reasons; Another employeth no thing but the advantage of his voyce and winde. Here one concludeth against himselfe; here another wearieth you with idle prefaces, and frivolous digressions. Another armeth himselfe afore hand with injuries, and seekes after a Dutch quarrell, to rid himselfe of the society, and shake off the conference of a spirite, that presseth and overbeareth his. This last hath no insight at all in reason, but still beleagreth you with the dialecticall or logicall close of his clause, and ties you to the rule of his arte or forme of his skill. Now who doth not enter into distrust of sciences, and is not in doubt, whether in any necessity of life hee may reape solid fruite of them; if hee consider the use wee have of them? *Nihil sanantibus literis:* "Since learning doth not cure." Who hath learnt any wit or understanding in Logique? Where are her faire promises? *Nec ad melius vivendum, nec ad commodius disserendum:* "Nether to live better or to dispute

fitter." Shall a man heare more brabling or confusion in the tittle-tatle of fish wives or scoulding sluts, then in the publike disputations of men of this profession? I had rather my childe should learne to speake in a Taverne, then in the schooles of well-speaking Arte. Take you a maister of artes, and conferre with him, why doth hee not make us perceive his artificiall excellencie, and by the admiration of his reasons-constancie, or with the beauty of his quaint order, and grace of his method, ravish silly women, and bleare ignorant men as wee are? Why doth hee not sway, winde, and perswade us as he list? Why should one so advantageous in matter and conduct, entermixe injuries, indiscretion and chollericke rage with his sence? Let him pull-of his two-faced hoode, his gowne and his Latine, let him not fill our eares with meerely beleeved Aristotle, you will discover and take him for one of us, and worse if worse may bee. Mee thinkes this implication and entangling of speech, wherewith they doe so much importune

us, may fitly bee compared unto juglers play of fast and loose: their nimblenesse combates and forceth our sences, but it nothing shaketh our beliefe: Take away their jugling, what they doe is but base, common and slight. Though they bee more wittie and nimble spirited, they are not the lesse foolish, simple and unapt. I love wit, and honour wisedome, as much as them that have it. And being rightly used, it is the noblest, the most forcible, yea and richest purchase men can make. But in such (of which kinde the number is infinite) that upon it establish their fundamentall sufficiency and worth: that from their wit refer themselves to their memory, *sub aliena umbra latentes:* "reposing them under another mans protection;" and can do nothing but by the booke (if I may be bold to say so) I hate the same, a little more then sottishnes. In my country, and in my daies, learning and bookishnes, doth much mend purses, but minds nothing at all. If it chance to finde them empty light and dry, it

filleth, it over-burthens and swelleth them : a raw and indigested masse : if thinne, it doth easily purifie, clarifie, extenuate and subtilize them, even unto exinanition or evacuation. It is a thing of a quality very neare indifferent : a most profitable accessory or ornament unto a well borne minde, but pernicious and hurtfully damagable unto any other. Or rather a thing of most precious use, that wil not basely be gotten, nor vilie possessed. In some hands a royal scepter, in other some a rude mattocke. But let us proceed. What greater or more glorious victory can you expect, then teach your enemy, that he cannot withstand you ? When you gaine the advantage of your proposition, it is Truth that winneth : when you get the advantage of the order and conduct, it is you that winne. I am of opinion, that both in Plato and in Xenophon, Socrates disputeth more in favour of the disputers, then in grace of the disputation : and more to instruct Euthydemus and Protagoras with the knowledge of their impertinency, then with the impertinency

of their arte. He takes hold of the first matter, as he who hath a more profitable end, then to cleare it; that is, to cleare the spirits he undertaketh to manage and to exercise. Agitation, stirring and hunting is properly belonging to our subject or drift; we are not excusable to conduct the same ill and impertinently, but to misse the game, and faile in taking, that's another matter. For wee are borne to quest and seeke after trueth; to possesse it belongs to a greater power. It is not (as Democritus said) hidden in the deepes of abisse: but rather elevated in infinite height of divine knowledge. The world is but a Schoole of inquisition. The matter is not who shall put in, but who shall runne the fairest courses. As well may hee play the foole that speaketh truely, as hee that speaketh falsely: for wee are upon the manner, and not uppon the matter of speaking. My humour is, to have as great a regarde to the forme, as to the substance; as much respect to the Advocate, as to the cause; as Alcibiades appointed wee should doe.

And I daylie ammuse my selfe to reade in authors, without care of their learning: therein seeking their manner, not their subject. Even as I pursue the communication of some famous wit, not that hee should teach mee, but that I may know him; and knowing him (if he deserve it) I may imitate him. Every one may speake truely, but to speake orderly, methodically, wisely and sufficiently, few can doe it. So falsehood proceeding of ignorance doth not offend mee; ineptnesse and trifling doth. I have broken off divers bargaines, that would have beene very commodious unto me, by the impertinencie of their contestation, with whome I did bargaine. I am not mooved once a yeare, with the faults or oversights of those, over whom I have power: but touching the point of the sottishnesse and foolishnesse of their allegations, excuses, and defences, rude and brutish, wee are every day ready to goe by the eares. They neyther understand what is said nor wherefore, and even so they answer; a thing able to make one

dispaire. I feele not my head to shock hard but by being hit with another. And I rather enter into composition with my peoples vices, then with their rashnesse, importunity and foolishnesse. Let them doe lesse, provided they be capable to doe. You live in hope to enflame their will: But of a block there is nothing to bee hoped for, nor anything of worth to bee enjoyed. Now, what if I take things otherwise then they are? So it may bee: And therefore I accuse my impatience. And first I hould, that it is equally vicious in him, who is in the right, as in him, that is in the wrong: For, it is ever a kinde of tyrannicall sharpenesse, not to be able to endure a forme different from his: and verily, since there is not a greater fondnesse, a more constant gullishnesse, or more heteroclite insipidity then for one to move or vex himselfe at the fondnesse, at the gullishnesse, or insipidity of the world: For it principally formalizeth and moveth us against our selves: and that Philosopher of former ages should never

have wanted occasion to weepe, so long as he had considered himselfe. Miso, one of the seaven sages (a man of a Timonian disposition and Democraticall humour) being demanded, where-at hee laughed alone; he answered, because I laugh alone; How many follies doe I speake and answer every day, according to my selfe; and then how much more frequent according to others? And if I bite mine owne lips at them, what ought others to doe? In fine, wee must live with the quicke, and let the water runne under the bridge, without any care, or at least without alteration to us. In good sooth, why meet we sometimes with crooked, deformed, and in body mishapen men, without falling into rage and discontent, and cannot endure to light-upon a froward, skittish, and ill-ranged spirit, without falling into anger and vexation? This vicious austeritie is rather in the Judge, then in the fault. Let us ever have that saying of Plato in our mouthes: "What I finde unwholsome, is it not to be unhealthy my selfe? Am not I in fault my selfe? May not mine

owne advertisement be retorted against my selfe?" Oh wise and divine restraint, that curbeth the most universall and common errour of men: Not only the reproches, we doe one to another, but our reasons, our arguments and matters controversed, are ordinarily retortable unto us: and we pinch our selves up in our owne armes. Whereof antiquitie hath left me divers grave examples. It was ingeniously spoken and fit to the purpose, by him that first devised the same.

ERAS. *Chil.* iii. cent. iv. ad. ii.

Stercus cuique suum bene olet.

Ev'ry mans ordure well,
To his owne sense doth smell.

Our eies see nothing backward. A hundred times a day we mocke our selves, upon our neighbours subject, and detest some defects in others, that are much more apparant in us; yea and admire them with a strange impudencie and unheedinesse. Even yesterday, I chanced to see a man of reasonable understanding, who no lesse pleasantly then justly flouted at anothers fond fashion, and

yet upon every silly occasion doth nothing but molest all men with the impertinent bedrowle and register of his pedigrees, genealogies and alliances, more then halfe false and wrested in ; (for it is the maner of such people, commonly to undertake such foolish discourses, whose qualities are more doubtfull and lesse sure) who if he had impartially considered and looked upon himselfe, should doubtlesse have found himselfe no lesse intemperate, indiscreet, and tedious, in publishing and extolling the prerogative of his wives pedigree and descent. Oh importunate presumption, wherewith the wife seeth her selfe armed by the hands of her owne husband. If he understand Latine, a man should say to him,

Age si hæc non insanit satis sua sponte, instiga.
Goe too, if of her owne accord before,
She were not mad enough, provoke her more.

TER. *And.* act iv. sc. 2.

I say not, that none should accuse, except hee bee spotlesse in himselfe : For then none might accuse : no not spotlesse in the same kinde of fault. But my meaning is,

that our judgement charging and blaming another, of whom there is then question, spareth us nothing, of an inward and severe jurisdiction. It is an office of charitie, that he who cannot remove a vice from himselfe, should neverthelesse endevour to remove it from others, where it may have a lesse hurtfull and froward seed. Nor doe I deeme it a fit answer, for him that warneth me of my fault, to say, the same is likewise in him. But what of that? Well meaning warning is alwaies true and profitable. Had we a good and sound nose, our owne ordure should be more unsavory unto ourselves, forasmuch as it is our owne. And Socrates is of opinion, that he, who should find himselfe, and his son, and a stranger guilty of any violence or injurie, ought first begin by himselfe, and present himselfe to the sentence and condemnation of the law, and for his owne discharge and acquital implore the assistance of the executioners hand: secondly for his son, and lastly for the stranger. If this precept take his tune somewhat too high: it should at least be

first presented to the punishment of ones owne conscience. Our senses are our proper and first judges, who distinguish not things, but by externall accidents ; and no marvell, if in all parts of the service belonging to our societie, there is so perpetuall and universall commixture of ceremonies and superficiall apparances : so that the best and most effectuall part of policies, consists in that. It is man with whom we have alwaies to doe, whose condition is marvellously corporall. Let those, who in these latter daies have so earnestly laboured, to frame and establish unto us, an exercise of religion and service of God, so contemplative and immateriall, wonder nothing at all, if some be found, who thinke, it would have escaped and mouldred away betweene their fingers, if it had not held and continued amongst us, as a marke, a title and instrument of division and faction, more then by it selfe. As in conference : The gravitie, the gowne and the fortune of him that speaketh, doth often adde and winne credit unto vaine trifling and absurd discourses. It is not to

be presumed, that one of these gowne-Clarkes or quoifed Serjants, so followed, and so redoubted, have not some sufficiencie within him, more then popular: and that a man so sullen so grim and so disdainfull, to whom so many commissions, charges and aucthorities are given, be not more sufficient and worthy, then another, who saluteth and vaileth to him so farre-off, and whom no man employeth. Not onely the wordes, but the powtings of such people, are considered and registred, every one applying himselfe to give them some notable and solide interpretation. If they stoope to common conference, and that a man affoord or shew them other then reverence and approbation, they overthrow you with the authoritie of their experience: they have read, they have heard, seene and done goodly things, you are cleane overwhelmed with examples. I would faine tell them, that the fruit of a Chirurgions experience, is not the storie of his practises, or the remembrance that hee hath cured foure who had the plague, and healed as many that had the Goute, except he know

and have the wit, from his use and experience, to draw a methode how to frame his judgements and by his skill and practise make us perceave, hee is become wiser in his arte. As in a consort of instruments, one heares not severally a Lute, a Vyol, a Flute, or a paire of Virginalles, but a perfect-full harmonie: the assemblie and fruit of all those instruments in one. If their travels and charges have amended them, it is in the production of their understanding to make it appeare. It sufficeth not to number the experiments; they ought to be well poised and orderly sorted: and to extract the reasons and conclusions they containe, they should bee well disgested and thorowly distilled. There were never so many Historians. It is ever good and profitable to heare them: for out of the magazin of their memorie, they store us with divers good instructions and commendable documents. Verily a chiefe part, for the assistance and directing of our life. But now a daies wee seeke not after that, but rather whether the Collectors and reporters of

them be praise woorthy themselves. I hate all maner of tyrannie, both verball and effectuall. I willingly bandie and oppose my selfe against these vaine and frivolous circumstances, which by the sences delude our judgement; and holding my selfe aloofe of from these extraordinarie greatnesses, have found, that for the most part, they are but men as others be:

JUVEN. *Sat.* viii. 73. *Rarus enim fermè sensus communis in illa Fortuna.*

For common sense is seldome found
In fortunes that so much abound.

They are peradventure esteemed and discerned lesse then they bee, forsomuch as they undertake more, and so shew themselves; they answer not the charge they have taken. There must necessarily be more vigour and strength in the bearer, then in the burden. Hee who is not growne to his full strength, leaves you to ghesse, whether hee have any left him beyond that, or have beene tried to the utmost of his power.

Hee who fainteth under his burden, bewraieth his measure and the weakenesse of his shoulders. Thats the reason, why amongst the wiser sort, there are so many foolish and unapt mindes seene, and more then of others. They might happily have beene made good husbandmen, thriving merchants, and plodding artificers. Their naturall vigour was cut out to this proportion. Learning is a matter of great consequence: they faint under it. To enstall and distribute, so rich and so powerfull a matter, and availefully to employ the same, their wit hath neither sufficient vigour, nor conduct enough to manage it. It hath no prevailing vertue but in a strong nature; and they are very rare: and such as are but weake (saith Socrates) corrupt and spoilingly deface the dignitie of Philosophie, in handling the same. Shee seemeth faultie and unprofitable, being ill placed and unorderly disposed. Loe how they spoile and entangle themselves.

Humani qualis simulator simius oris,
Quem puer arridens, pretioso stamine serum

CLAUD. *Eutrop.* l. i. 303.

Velavit, nudasque, nates ac terga reliquit,
Ludibrium mensis.

Such counterfets as Apes are of mans face,
Whom children sporting at, featly incase
In coastly coates, but leave his backeside bare
For men to laugh at, when they feasting are.

To those likewise, who sway and command us, and have the world in their owne hands, t'is not sufficient to have a common understanding, and to be able to doe, what wee can effect. They are farre beneath us, if they be not much above us. As they promise more, so owe they more. And therefore silence is in them, not onely a countenance of respect and gravitie, but often of thrift and profit: Megabysus going to visite Apelles in his worke-house, stood still a good while without speaking one word, and then began to discourse of his workes. Of whom he received this rude and nipping checke: "So long as thou heldest thy peace, by reason of thy garish clothes, goodly chaines and stately pompe, thou seemedst to be some worthy gallant: but now thou hast spoken, there is not the

simplest boy of my shop, but scorneth and contemns thee." That great state of his, those rich habilliments, and goodly traine, did not permit him to bee ignorant with a popular ignorance and to speake impertinently of painting. He should have kept mute, and concealed his externall and presuming sufficiency. Unto how many fond and shallow minds, hath in my dayes, a sullen, cold and silent countenance, served as a title of wisedome and capacity? Dignities, charges and places, are necessarily given, more by fortune then by merit: and they are often to blame, that for it lay the blame on Kings. Contrariwise it is a wonder, that being so untoward, they should therein have so good lucke: *Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos:* "Chiefe vertue it is knowne, In Kings to know their owne." For Nature hath not given them so perfect a sight, that it might extend it selfe and overlooke so many people, to discerne their pre-excellency; and enter their breasts, where lodgeth the knowledge of our will and better worth. It is by conjectures, and as

it were groping they must try us: by our race, alliances, dependences, riches learning, and the peoples voice: all over-weake arguments. He that could devise a meane, how men might be judged by law, chosen by reason, and advanced by desert, should establish a perfect forme of a Commonwealth. Yea but he hath brought that great businesse unto a good passe. It is to say something: but not to say sufficiently. For, this sentence is justly received, That counsels ought not to be judged by the events. The Carthaginians were wont to punish the ill counsels of their Captaines, although corrected by some fortunate successe. And the Roman people hath often refused triumphes to famous, succesfull and most profitable victories, forsomuch as the Generals conduct, answeared not his good fortune. It is commonly perceived by the worldes actions, that fortune, to teach us, how farre hir power extendeth unto all things; and who taketh pleasure to abate our presumption, having not beene able to make silly men wise, she hath made

them fortunate, in envie of vertue: And commonly gives hir selfe to favour executions, when as their complot and devise is meerely hirs. Whence we dayly see, that the simplest amongst us, compasse diverse great and important affaires, both publike and private. And as Sirannez the Persian Prince, answered those, who seemed to wonder how his negotiations succeeded so ill, his discourses being so wise: "That he was only maister of his discourses, but fortune mistris of his affaires successe." These may answer the like; but with a contrary bias. Most things of the world are made by themselves.

Fata viam inveniunt.
Fates finde and know, which way to goe. VIRG. *Æn.* l. iii. 395.

The issue doth often aucthorize a simple conduct. Our interposition is in a manner nothing els but an experience, and more commonly a consideration of use and example, then of reason. And as one amazed at the greatnesse of some businesse, I have somtimes understood by those who

had atchieved them, both their motives and addresses: wherein I have found but vulgar advises: and the most vulgar and used, are peradventure the surest and most commodious for the practise, if not for the shew. And what if the plainest reasons are the best seated: the meanest, basest and most beaten, are best applied unto affaires? To maintaine the aucthority of our Kings-counsell, it is not requisite, that prophane persons should be partakers of it, and looke further into it, then from the first barre. To uphold it's reputation, it should be reverenced upon credit, and at full. My consultation doth somewhat roughly hew the matter, and by it's first shew, lightly consider the same: the maine and chiefe point of the worke, I am wont to resigne to heaven.

HOR. l. i. *Od.* ix. 9.

Permitte divis cætera,
How all the rew shall goe,
Give leave to Gods to know.

Good and bad fortune, are in my conceit two soveraigne powers. T'is folly to thinke,

that humane wisedome may act the full part of fortune. And vaine is his enterprise, that presumeth to embrace both causes and consequences, and lead the progresse of his fact by the hand. And above all, vainest in military deliberations. There was never more circumspection and military wisedome, then is sometimes seene amongst us: May it bee that man feareth to loose himselfe by the way, reserving himselfe to the catastrophe of that play? I say moreover, that even our wisedome and consultation for the most part followeth the conduct of hazard. My will and my discourse, is sometimes mooved by one ayre, and sometimes by another: and there be many of these motions, that are governed without me. My reason hath dayly impulsions and casuall agitations:

Vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
Nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventis agebat.
Concipiunt.

VIRG. *Geor.* I. iv. 20.

The showes of mindes are chang'd, and brests conceave
At one time motions, which anon they leave
And others take againe,
As windes drive clouds amaine.

Let but a man looke who are the mightiest in Cities and who thrive best in their businesse ; he shall commonly find, they are the silliest and poorest in wit. It hath hapned to simple women, to weake children, and to mad men, to command great states, as well as the most sufficient Princes. And the gullish or shallow-pated (saith Thucidides) doe more ordinarily come unto them, then the wisest and subtilest. We ascribe their good fortunes effects, unto their prudence.

PLAU. *Pseu.* act v. sc. 4.

——— *ut quisque fortuna utitur,*
Ita præcellit : atque exinde sapere illum omnes dicimus.

As men their fortune use, so they excell,
And so we say, they are wise and doe well.

Wherefore I say well, that howsoever, events are but weake testimonies of our worth and capacitie. I was now upon this point, that we need but looke upon a man advanced to dignity ; had we but three dayes before knowne him to bee of little or no worth at all : an image of greatnesse, and an Idea of sufficiencie, doth insensibly

glide and creepe into our opinions; and wee perswade our selves, that increasing in state and credit and followers, hee is also increased in merit. Wee judge of him, not according to his worth; but after the manner of casting-counters, according to the prerogative of his ranke. But let fortune turne hir wheele, let him againe decline and come downe amongst the vulgar multitude; every one with admiration enquireth of the cause, and how he was raised so high. Good Lord, is that he? will some say. What? knew he no more? had he no other skill when hee was so aloft? Are Princes pleased with so little? Now in good sooth wee were in very good hands, will others say. It is a thing my selfe have often seene in my dayes. Yea the very maske of greatnesse, or habite of majesty, represented in Tragedies, doth in some sort touch and beguile us. The thing I adore in Kings, is the throng of their adoratores. All inclination and submission is due unto them, except the mindes. My reason is not framed to bend or stoope; my knees are.

Melanthius being demanded, what he thought of Dionysius his tragedy, answered, I have not seene it, so much was it over-clouded with language. So should those say, that judge of great mens discourses: I have not understood his discourse, so was it over-darkned with gravity, with greatnes and with majesty. Antisthenes one day perswaded the Athenians, to command, that their asses should as well be employed about the manuring of grounds, as were their horses: who answered him, that the Asse was not borne for such service: that's all one (quoth he) there needs but your allowance for it: for the most ignorant and incapable men you imploy about the directing of your warres, leave not to become out of hand most worthy, onely because you employ them. Whereupon depends the custome of so many men, who canonize the king, whom they have made amongst them, and are not contented to honour him, unlesse they also adore him. Those of Mexico, after the cerimonies of his conse-

cration are finished, dare no more looke him in the face: but as if by his royalty, they had deified him, they afterward deeme him to bee a God: amongst the oathes, they make him sweare to maintain their religion, to keepe their lawes, to defend their liberties, to be valiant, just and debonaire; hee is also sworne to make the Sunne march in his accustomed light: in time of need to cause the cloudes showre downe their waters; to enforce rivers to runne in their right wonted chanels; and compell the earth to produce all necessary things for his people. I differ from this common fashion, and more distrust sufficiencie, when I see it acompanied with the greatnes of fortune, and applauded by popular commendation. We should heedfully marke, of what consequence it is, for a man to speake in due time, to choose fit opportunity, to breake or change his discourse with a magistrale authority: to defend himselfe from others oppositions, by a nod or mooving of the head, by a smil a shrug or a silence, before an assembly,

trembling with reverence and respect. A man of monstrous fortune, chancing to shoote his boult, and give his opinion upon a frivolous subject, which but jestingly was tossed too and fro at his table, beganne ever thus; he cannot choose but be a lyer, or an ignorant asse, that will say otherwise then, &c. Follow this Philosophicall point, out commeth a dagger, and there is some mischiefe. Loe here another advertisment; from whence I reape good use; Which is, that in disputations and conferences, all good seeming wordes, ought not presently to be allowed and accepted. Most men are rich of a strange sufficiency. Some may chance to speake a notable saying, to give a good answere, to use a witty sentence, and to propound it, without knowing the force of it. That a man holdeth not all he borroweth, may peradventure be verified in my selfe. A man should not alwayes yeeld, what truth or goodnes soever it seemeth to containe. A man must either combat the same in good earnest, or draw-backe, under colour of not understanding the matter: to

try on all parts, how it is placed in it's author. It may fortune, that we shut our selves up, and further the stroake, beyond its bearing. I have sometimes in necessity and throng of the combat, employed some reviradoes or turnings, which beyond my intent, have prooved false offers. I but gave them by tale, and they were received by waight. Even as when I contend with a vigorous man; I please my selfe to anticipate his conclusions: I ease him the labour to interpret himselfe, I endevour to prevent his imperfect and yet budding imagination: the order and pertinencie of his understanding forwarneth and menaceth a farre off: of these others I doe cleane contrary; a man must understand or presuppose nothing but by them. If they judge in generall termes: This is good; that's naught: and that they jump right; see whither it be fortune, that jumpeth for them. Let them a little circumscribe and restraine their sentence; wherefore it is, and which way it is. These universall judgements, I see so ordinarily say nothing

at all. They are men, that salute a whole multitude, in throng and troupe. Such as have true knowledge of the same, salute and marke it by name and particularly. But it is a hazardous enterprise. Whence I have oftner and dayly seen, to happen that wits weakly grounded, intending to shew themselves ingenious, by observing in the reading of some worke, the point of beauty: stay their admiration with so bad a choise, that in liew of teaching us the authors excellencie, they shew us their owne ignorance. This manner of exclaimation is safe; "Loe this is very excellent; Surely this is very good;" having heard a whole page of Virgil. And that's the shift whereby the subtill save themselves. But to undertake to follow him by shrugs and crinches, and with an expresse selected judgement to goe about to marke which way a good author surmounteth himselfe; pondring his words, his phrases, his inventions, and his severall vertues one after another: Away; goe by; It is not for you. *Videndum est non modo, quid quisque*

loquatur, sed etiam quid quisque, sentiat, atque etiam qua de causa quisque sentiat: "Man must take heed not onely what he speakes, but what he thinkes, and also why he thinkes." I dayly heare fooles utter unfoolish words. Speake they any good thing; let us understand whence they know it, how farre they understand and whereby they hold it. We helpe them to employ this fine word, and this goodly reason, which they possesse not, and have but in keeping; they have happily produced the same by chance and at randan, our selves bring it in credit and esteeme with them. You lend them your hand; what to doe? to konne you no thankes, and thereby become more simple, and more foolish. Doe not second them; let them goe-on: they will handle this matter as men affraide to bewray themselves, they dare neither change her seate or light, nor enter into it. Shake it never so little, it escapeth them; quit the same how strong and goodly soever it bee. They are hand-some weapons, but ill hafted. How often have I seene the

experience of it? Now if you come to expound and confirme them, they take hold of you, and presently steale the advantage of your interpretation from you. It was that which I was about to say: It was just my conceit: if I have not so exprest it, it is but for want of speech. Handy-dandy, what is this? Malice it selfe must be employed to correct this fierce rudenesse. Hegesias his position, that a man must neither hate nor accuse, but instruct, hath some reason else where. But heere, it is injustice to assist, and inhumanity to raise him up againe, that hath nothing to doe with it, and is thereby of lesser worth. I love to have them entangle and bemire themselves more then they are, and if it bee possible, to wade so deepe into the gulfe of error, that in the end they may recall and advise themselves. Sottishnesse and distraction of the sences, is no disease curable by a tricke of advertisment. And wee may fitly say of this reparation, as Cyrus answered one, who urged him to exhort his army in the nicke

when the battell should beginne; That "men are not made warlike and couragious in the field, by an excellent oration; no more then one becommeth a ready cunning musition, by hearing a good song." They are prentisages that must bee learnt a forehand, by long and constant institution. This care wee owe to ours, and this assiduitie of correction and instruction: but to preach to him that first passeth by, or sway the ignorance or fondnesse of him wee meete next, is a custome I cannot well away with. I seldome use it, even in such discourses as are made to mee; and I rather quit all, then come to these far-fetcht and magistrale instructions. My humour is no more proper to speake, then to write, namely for beginners. But in things commonly spoken, or amongst others, how fals and absurd soever I judge them, I never crosse or gibe them, neither by word nor signe. Further, nothing doth more spight mee in sottishnesse then that it pleaseth it selfe more, then any reason may justly be satisfied. It is ill lucke, that wisedome forbids you to please

and trust your selfe, and sends you alwayes away discontented and fearefull: whereas wilfulnes and rashnesse, fill their guests with gratulation and assurance. It is for the simplest and least able, to looke at other men over their shoulders, ever returning from the combat ful of glory and gladnes. And most often also, this outrecuidance of speech and cheerefulnesse of countenance, giveth them the victory over the by-standers, who are commonly weake, and incapable to judge aright and discerne true advantage. Obstinacie and earnestnesse in opinion, is the surest tryall of folly and selfe conceite. Is there any thing so assured, so resolute, so disdainefull, so contemplative, so serious and so grave, as the Asse; May wee not commixe with the title of conference and communication, the sharpe and interrupted discourses, which mirth and familiaritie introduceth amongst friends, pleasantly dallying and wittily jesting one with another? An exercise, to which my naturall blithenesse makes me very apt. And if it be not so wire-drawne

and serious, as this other exercise I now speake of, yet is it no lesse sharpe or ingenious, no lesse profitable, as it seemed to Lycurgus. For my regard I bring more liberty then wit unto it, and have therein more lucke then invention: but I am perfect in sufferance; for I endure the revenge, not onely sharpe but also indiscreete, without any alteration. And to any assault given me, if I have not presently or stoutly wherewith to worke mine own amends, I ammuse not my self to follow that ward or point, with a tedious and selfe-wil'd contestation, enclining to pertinacie: I let it passe, and hanging downe mine eares, remit my selfe to a better houre to right my selfe. He is not a marchant that ever gaineth. Most men change both voice and countenance, where might faileth them: And by an importunate rage, instead of avenging themselves, they accuse their weakenesse and therewith bewray their impacience. In this jollitie we now and then harpe upon some secret strings of our imperfections; which setled or considerate

we cannot touch without offence: and wee profitably enter-advertize our selves of our defects. There are other handy-sportes in discreete, fond and sharpe, just after the French manner; which I hate mortally: I have a tender and sensible skinne: I have in my dayes seene two Princes of our royall blood brought to their graves for it. It is an ill seeming thing for men, in jest to hitte, or in sport to strike one another. In other matters, when I shall judge of any body, I demaund of him, how farre or how much he is contented with himselfe: how farre his speach or his worke pleaseth him. I will avoyde these goodly excuses, I did it but in jest:

OVID. *Trist.* l. i. *Eleg.* vi. 29.

Ablatum mediis opus est incudibus istud.
This worke away was brought,
Halfe hammered, halfe wrought.

I was not an houre there; I have not seene him since. Now I say, let us then leave these partes, give me one that may represent you whole and entire, by which it may please you to be measured by

another. And then; what finde you fairest in your owne worke? is it that or this part? the grace or the matter, the invention, the judgement, or the learning? For I ordinarily perceive, that a man misseth as much in judging of his owne worke, as of anothers. Not onely by the affection, he therein imployeth; but because he hath not sufficiencie to know, nor skill to distinguish it. The worke of it's owne power and fortune, may second the workeman, and transport him beyond his invention and knowledge. As for me, I judge not the worth of anothers worke more obscurely then of mine owne: and place my Essayes sometimes lowe, sometimes high, very unconstantly and doubtfully. There are dyvers bookes profitable by reason of their subjects of which the author reapeth no commendations at all: And good bookes, as also good workes, which make the workeman ashamed. I shall write the manner of our bankets, and the fashion of our garments; and I shall write it with an ill grace: I shall publish the Edicts of

my time, and the letters of Princes that publikely passe from hand to hand: I shall make an abridgement of a good booke (and every abridgement of a good booke, is a foole abridged) which booke shall come to be lost; and such like things. Posterity shall reape singular profit by such compositions: but I, what honour, except by my good fortune? Many famous bookes are of this condition.

When I read Philip de Commines, (now dyvers yeares since) a right excellent author, I noted this speach in him, as a saying not vulgar: That a man should carefully take heed, how he do his master so great or much service, that he thereby be hindred from finding his due recompence for it. I should have commended the invention, but not him. After that I found it in Tacitus: *Beneficia eo usque lata sunt, dum videntur exolvi posse, ubi multum antevenere pro gratia odium redditur:* "Benefites are so long welcome, as wee thinke they may be requited, but when they much exceede all power of recompence, hate is

CORN. TACIT. *Annal.* l. iv.

return'd for thankes and good will." And Seneca very stoutely: *Nam qui putat esse turpe non reddere, non vult esse cui reddat.* SEN. *Epist.* lxxxi. f. "For he that thinkes it a shame not to requite, could wish, he were not whom he should requite. Q. Cicero with a looser byas: *Qui se non putat satisfacere, amicus esse nullo modo potest:* CICERO. "He that thinkes he doth not satisfie, can by no meanes be a friend." The subject according as it is, may make a man be judged learned, wise and memorious: but to judge in him the parts most his owne and best worthy, together with the force and beautie of his minde; t'is very requisite we know first what is his owne, and what not: and in what is not his owne, what we are beholding to him for, in consideration of his choise, disposition, ornament, and language he hath thereunto furnished. What if he have borrowed the matter and empaired the forme? as many times it commeth to passe. Wee others that have little practise with bookes, are troubled with this; that when wee meet with any rare or quaint invention

in a new Poet, or forcible argument in a Preacher, we dare not yet commend them, untill we have taken instruction of some wise man, whether that part be their owne or another bodies. And untill then I ever stand upon mine owne guard. I come lately from reading over, (and that without any intermission) the story of Tacitus (a matter not usuall with me ; it is now twenty yeares, I never spent one whole houre together upon a booke) and I have now done it, at the instant request of a gentleman, whom France holdeth in high esteeme ; as well for his owne worth and valour, as for a constant forme of sufficiencie and goodnes, apparantly seene in divers brethren of his. I know no author, that in a publike register entermixeth so many considerations of manners, and particular inclinations. And I deeme cleane contrary, to what hee thinketh : who being especially to follow the lives of the Emperours of his time, so divers and extreme in all manner of forme, so many notable and great actions, which, namely their crueltie produced in

their subjects: he had a more powerfull and attractive matter, to discourse and relate, then if hee had beene to speake or treat of battles and universall agitations. So that I often finde him barren, sleightlie running-over those glorious deaths, as if he feared to attediate and molest us with their multitude and continuance. This forme of historie is much more profitable: Publike innovations, depend more on the conduct of fortune: private on ours. It is rather a judgement, then a deduction of an history: therein are more precepts, then narrations: It is not a booke to reade, but a volume to study and to learne: It is so fraught with sentences, that right or wrong they are hudled up: It is a seminary of morall, and a magazine of pollitique discourses, for the provision and ornament of those, that possesse some place in the managing of the world. He ever pleadeth with solide and forcible reasons; after a sharpe and witty fashion: following affected and laboured stile of his age: They so much loved to raise and puffe themselves up, that where

they found neither sharpenesse nor subtility in things, they would borrow it of wordes. He draweth somewhat neare to Senecas writing. I deeme Tacitus more sinnowy, Seneca more sharpe. His service is more proper to a crazed troubled state, as is ours at this present: you would often say, hee pourtrayeth and toucheth us to the quicke. Such as doubt of his faith, doe manyfestly accuse themselves to hate him for somewhat else. His opinions be sound, and enclining to the better side of the Romane affaires. I am neverthelesse something greeved, that he hath more bitterly judged of Pompey, then honest mens opinions, who lived and conversed with him, doe well allow-off: to have esteemed him altogether equall to Marius and Silla, saving that he was more close and secret. His intention and canvasing for the government of affaires, hath not beene exempted from ambition, nor cleared from revenge: and his owne friends have feared, that had he gotten the victory, it would have transported him beyond the limites of reason; but not unto an unbridled

and raging measure. There is nothing in his life that hath threatned us with so manyfest a cruelty, and expresse tyranny. Yet must not the suspition be counterpoised to the evidence: So doe not I beleeve him.

That his narrations are naturall and right, might happily be argued by this: That they doe not alwayes exactly apply themselves to the conclusions of his judgments; which hee pursueth according to the course hee hath taken, often beyond the matter hee sheweth us; which hee hath dained to stoope unto with one only glance. He needeth no excuse to have approoved the religion of his times, according to the lawes which commaunded him, and beene ignorant of the true and perfect worship of God. That's his ill fortune, not his defect. I have principally considered his judgement, whereof I am not every where throughly resolved. As namely these wordes contayned in the letter, which Tiberius being sicke and aged, sent to the Senate. "What shall I write to you my masters, or how

shall I write to you, or what shall I not write to you in these times? May the Gods and Goddesses loose mee worse, then I dayly feele my selfe to perish, if I can tell." I cannot perceive why hee should so certainely apply them unto a stinging remorse, tormenting the conscience of Tiberius: At least when my selfe was in the same plight, I saw it not. That hath likewise seemed somwhat demisse and base unto me, that having said, how hee had exercised a certayne honourable magistracy in Rome, he goeth about to excuse himselfe, that it is not for ostentation, he spake it: This one tricke, namely in a minde of his quality, seemeth but base and course unto me: For, not to dare speake roundly of himselfe, accuseth some want of courage: A constant, resolute and high judgement, and which judgeth soundly and surely, every hand while useth his owne examples, as well as of any strange thing; and witnesseth as freely of himselfe as of a third person: A man must overgoe these populare reasons of civility, in favour of

trueth and liberty. I dare not onely speake of my selfe: but speake alone of my selfe. I stragle when I write of any other matter, and digresse from my subject. I doe not so discreetly love my selfe, and am so tide and commixt to my selfe, as that I can not distinguish and consider my selfe a part: as a neighbour; as a tree, it is an equall error, eyther not to see how farre a mans worth stretcheth, or to say more of it then one seeth good cause. We owe more love to God, then to our selves, and know him lesse, and yet we talke our fill of him. If his writings relate any thing of his conditions: he was a notable man, upright and couragious; not with a superstitious vertue, but Philosophicall and generous: He may be found over-hardy in his testimonies: As where hee holdeth, that a souldier carrying a burden of wood, his hands were so stifly benummed with cold, that they stucke to his woode, and remayned so fast unto it, that as dead flesh they were divided from his armes. In such cases I am wont to yeeld unto the authoritie

of so great testimonies. Where he also saith, that Vespasian by the favour of the God Serapis, healed in the citie of Alexandria a blinde woman, with the rubbing and anointing her eies with fasting spettle: and some other miracles, which I remember not well now: hee doth it by the example and devoire of all good historians. They keepe a register of important events: among publike accidents, are also populare reports and vulgar opinions. It is their part to relate common conceits, but not to sway them. This part belongeth to Divines and Philosophers, directors of consciences. Therefore that companion of his, and as great a man as hee, saide most wisely: *Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: Nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere quæ accepi:* "I write out more then I beleeve: for neither can I bide to affirme what I doubt of, nor to withdrawe what I have heard." And that other: *Hæc neque affirmare neque refellere operæ precium est famæ rerum standum est:* "It is not worth

the talke, or to avouch, or to refute these things; wee must stand to report." And writing in an age, wherein the beliefe of prodigies began to decline, he saith, he would notwithstanding not ommit to insert in his Annals, and give footing to a thing received and allowed of so many honest men, and with so great reverence by antiquity. It is very well said: That they yeelde us the history, more according as they receave, then according as they esteeme it. I who am king of the matter I treat of, and am not to give accompt of it to any creature living, doe neverthelesse not altogether beleeve my selfe for it: I often hazard upon certaine outslips of my minde, for which I distrust my selfe; and certaine verball wilie-beguilies, whereat I shake mine eares: but I let them runne at hab or nab; I see some honour them selves with such like things: T'is not for me alone to judge of them. I present my selfe standing and lying, before and behinde, on the right and left side, and in all by naturall motions. Spirits alike in force,

are not ever alike in application and taste. Loe here what my memory doth ingrose, and yet very uncertainely present unto me of it. In breefe, all judgements are weake, demisse and imperfect.

THE END OF VOL V.

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